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Congress and the Hindu Maha Sabha Underlying Ideologies and Methods

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The Congress has been the biggest and strongest organisation in all-India out to serve the people of Hindusthan and win back our last freedom and glory during the past fifty years and over; and during the last twenty years particularly, under Mahatma Gandhi's leadership, it has attained a status and dignity which are unrivalled by any other organisation in the country. Its contribution towards the rousing of a self-consciousness among our masses is well-known; and its services for the marshalling of Indian public opinion in favour of our *Swaraj* are not inconsiderable. Under its orders, lakhs had marched in to the British jails; and under its aegis, thousands have filed our Boards, Councils and even Cabinets in the land. It has raised a "National Flag" for all India; and has prescribed a sort of a programme—the famous Khaddar, Unity, Prohibition, Untouchability-removal—for constructing a new Nation in all-India. The Government are now anxious to win its co-operation as they are of no other group in party in the country; and for all one can see, it may even get back the Provincial Ministries in eight Provinces which its lieutenents had given up lately after the out-break of the War.

The Congress has been all these things; but yet revered leaders like the late Swami Shraddhanandji, the late Lala Lajapati

Rai, Pandit Malaviaji, Dr. Moonje, Bhai Paramanand and Veer Savarkar have thought it fit and necessary to raise a separate Hindu Flag, Hindu Front and even a new Hindu Policy and diplomacy for both winning our Freedom as well as for retaining it when once it is attained. And it behoves every true lover of the country to clearly and dispassionately understand the root causes that were responsible for this Hindu protest against the Congress. Concretely-speaking, what are the main ideological differences between the Congress and the Hindu school?

Outlook on Dharma.

In the path of Dharma, under the Gandhian leadership, the Congress has prepared up a fallen Khilafat; preached the Christian Sermon on the Mount; but failed to popularise the Brahmanical Sandhya, which even such a modernised philosopher like Sir S Radhakrishnan has recognised as Universal Prayer; has discouraged the use of our sacred thread or the Thall among our men and women; joined hands practically with the alien systems of Islam and Christianity in removing the traditional caste-mark from our fore-heads; and while it has not built even one temple in all India, it has done much to violate the sanctity and holiness of our existing temples in India, nay, even to hold up the Veda itself into con-

tempt if not ridicule at the hands of its ha'penny t'penny critics and platform speakers. In one word the Congress has undermined the Hindu **Dharma** and **Sangha** (Religion and Society) as perhaps not even the alien Christian missions have done during the last 150 years; and no wonder that the soul of India should be now struggling to free itself first from the fetters of this Congress, before it can even think of wresting **Swaraj** from the hands of the unwilling Britisher. For, of what recompense is it to us if India will get back her freedom but lose her soul? Nay, how can she become even physically free when we are all mentally, morally and spiritually bound to the Chariot-wheels of Western thought, ideology and out-look in our main **Dharma**?

I do not want to be misunderstood. It is a perfectly laudable ideal—that of Hindu-Muslim Christian Unity which the Congress has raised. And the creation of a united, composite organic, **Bharata Jateeyata** or Indian Nationality ultimately is the aim of the Hindu sabha also. And the promotion of mutual friendship and good-will among the various communities inhabiting this country is a plank common to both the Congress and the Maha Sabha. For Clause (j) of Article 3 of the Maha Sabha Constitution thus clearly lays down that the objects of the Maha Sabha shall include, among other things.

"To promote good feelings between the Hindus and non-Hindu communities in Hindusthan and to act in a friendly way with them with a view to evolve a united and self-governing Bharateeya Nation based on equality of civic rights and duties irrespective of caste and creed."

But the main difference between the two lies in their respective approaches to the goal. And while the Congress has failed to appreciate the necessity for conserving or promoting the traditional motive under-lying our efforts, the Hindu Sabha has demanded that those of us who are Hindus shall first be true to our **Swadharma** before striving for a composite Hindu-Muslim-Dharma, which, of course, shall be

the goal. And while the Congress has been extra-partial towards Islam and Christianity, the Hindu Sabha says that the Hindus shall be first true to themselves before their pretending to strive for the weal of others.

I will give a simple example to explain this difference. The great Andhra leader, Andhra Ratna Gopalakrishnayya had raised his glorious Rama Dandu (volunteers) with its **Hanumat Dhwaja** for reviving and resuscitating our **Swaraj**, which even Mahatma Gandhi had agreed should represent our ancient **Rama Raj**. But the late Andhra Ratna could not get the Congress mentors to accommodate his Rama Dandu or its Flag as parts of the Congress programme, while the self-same Hindu-Muslim Unity-mongers have done their utmost to encourage the khilafat and the Khudai Khitmatgars, nay, even to hoist a khilafat flag side by side with the Congressional Tri-Colour at the Cocanada Congress. And even to-day, when we ask the Congress leaders including Gandhiji to let us have a Volunteer force based upon the traditional idealism of all the component units, say, the Rama Dandu, Khudai Khitmatgar, Akali Jatha, Red Cross etc., all working under one command, they keep mum; but the Khudai Khitmatgars somehow manage to fill the columns of the 'Harijan' and their commander becomes a 'Frontier Gandhi' to our Congress worshippers!

The United Nationalist Ideal.

Bhai Paramanandji thus describes the Hindu position in respect of our united Nationalist ideal in a recent article in the Hindu outlook! "The ideal of a united Nation is a laudable principle, but its realisation involves great sacrifices. The truth is that the Muslims are under no circumstances prepared to set aside their religion and consequently it is an impossibility to achieve the objective of a United Nationality. If all the non-Hindu communities are aggressively bent upon keeping up the consciousness of their separateness, it will be a suicidal policy for the Hindus to give up their tradition and culture. The policy will mean the death-knell of the Hindus

and once they lose the characteristics of their identification, they would fall an easy prey to any of the aggressive neighbouring Communities."

I might go perhaps a step further than Bhaiji and say that a United Nationality has always been the ideal of the Hindu thought throughout the past ages. "Na Jathil Naiva Varnah"—i. e., neither Race nor Caste; and "Na Devah, na Veda, na Yagna, na Thirtham, Bruvanthi," i. e., neither Gods nor scripture, neither Yagna nor Thirtha none of these availeth for the ultimate Reality—this has been a well-known position in our Adwaitic thought and philosophy. And to attain that subjective End we may even have to build up, ere long, an objective synthesising also of our respective Gods and Scriptures, so as, for instance to comprise a Christ and Mohammad among the Prophets of the World and the Bible and Quoran among the Puranas of India. But before we can do that, it is imperatively necessary that those of us who are Hindus should first brush up our Hinduism, read up our Sandhya and Veda once again and even begin re-visiting our Gods and temples lest we should soon degenerate into a race of Vratyas or fallen people—lost to our ancient heritage, and lost too beyond recovery for any future achievement. But if anybody were to suggest a levelling down of our Hindu Temples as the sure path to socialistic Nirvana in India, we may perhaps tolerate the theory; but as a practical proposition should insist upon their up-rooting their Mosques and Churches also side by side, nay, as a condition precedent to our doing your job the other hand, if it be a case of 'Up with Islam and up with Christianity; and down with Hinduism and down with Sanatana Dharma', then we should say most unhesitatingly, "Down upon your Congress itself; and, Hindu-Muslim unity or no Hindu-Muslim unity, let Hinduism live, shine and conquer!"

On Artha and Kaama

What has been said above regarding the Congressional outlook upon our Dharma applies with an almost equal force to its treatment of our Artha and Kaama also.

Thus in the realm of Artha or wealth, the Indian aspiration has ever been to work at Krishi, Go-rakshana and Vanijyam, to which perhaps one should add in this age of large-scale industrialism, Parisrama (Industry) also. But why is it that, under the Gandhian inspiration, one is always treated to Khaddar, Khaddar and nothing else but Khaddar; "Spin, spin, and spin all the twenty-four hours of the day;" the Charkha as the saviour of our stomachs and symbol of our Daridra Narayana and so forth? Do we not need to attend to our agriculture and mining and forestry; cattle-protection and trade and industry; ship-building and commerce and foreign exchange etc? Should not our Swaraj become once again a Golden Raj of Varahalu and Mohireelu (i. e. four Rupee and 25 Rupee gold coins)? Khaddar and Village-industries may be good; nay, they are necessary. But they won't solve the problem of our poverty. Nor can they make us into a rich and prosperous Nation. The Congress recipe for increasing our wealth in India is inadequate. Therefore, the Hindu Sabha stands for a more comprehensive scheme of economic reconstruction, based on our traditional Srishti (production), Sthithi (Distribution) and Layam (Dissolution or Consumption).

Likewise, in our Samishti Kaamyam or the collective National aspiration which has now come to us as Swaraj, the Congress and Hindu Sabha methods vary. The Congress believes in spinning out Swaraj at the point of the Charkha and protecting it with the aid of our cotton slivers. But the Hindu Sabha shares no such illusions. It believes in the use of the sword and the Rifle in our states design; it wants a million Hindu Militia to defend Hindus than from alien aggression; it has got the Kripa on its Flag; and it won't hesitate, I should think, to accommodate a Chakra or automatic Revolver also to suit our requirements in the new age. It remembers with respect Sri Ramachandra's Bow and Arrow as well as the Sankhu and Chakra i. e. the Bugle and Revolver of the Kristna Bhagawan. It wants an Army, Navy and Air-force for the people of

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Finland

The Land of Bewikthing Beauty

By Mr. D. TRIVIKRAMARAO, LL. B., Barrister-at-Law

To many Finland is but a geographical term. Except for the invasion of this little country by Russia, it would not have attracted the attention of the foreigner. The history of Finland is one of ceaseless struggle from bondage and their shortlived freedom is again imperilled by the merciless Soviet freebooters.

Nature's Beauty Land

What impression does Finland convey? Probably of vague memories of a land of snow and reindeer or of wolves and bears or possibly of music, if one had heard the name of Finland's famous musician Sibelius or of her reputed architect Saarinen or of the celebrated Olympic athlete Nurmi. Finland is not alone this; it is much more. It is a land of sunshine and light of tender and lyrical beauty—stern and wild, a land of lakes, forests and fells of rare fascination. Almost removed from the main countries of Europe, behind Norway and Sweden, resting to the north of Leningrad, it opens out an unending panorama of lovely scenic beauty which an Arctic country above can provide. Looking out between the pines at the silky Gulf of Finland, with the delicate blue of the water shot with streaks of pink and violet, shored with the green and orange of the forest one is tempted to declare Finland's Natural Scenery as the most enchanting outrivalling the glory of Kashmir glens, and forests. Picture a land of sixty thousand lakes of varying dimensions, covered with forests of pine and spruce extending for miles together and relieved against the immensity of the Northern sky. Imagine for a while a country caught in the surge of a brief spring or summer where the sun refuses to set even for an hour, throbbing with a novel life and vitality. For this miraculous

summer, Finland pays in the shape of long darkness and winter nights.

For four months the country is icebound, lakes frozen, the rocks hidden in deep snowdrift enabling one to go any where on skis. The winter is exhilarating. The perpetual cold might

again give way to the re-emerging sun throwing the sparkling golden rays on the silver sheets of snow. The Northern summer, vivid sun-drenched, perfumed by this wild flowers of the forest, is however, the lasting impression one carries from Finland.

The Finns

Whence and how the Finns came to occupy the country now known as Finland, history has not recorded. The Finns are there. They are, then as now, a fair-haired, blue eyed people and call themselves in their native tongue Souni. Their struggle with the stubborn wilds and barren soil and against the long unrelenting winters moulded their character and explains their resistance to the Russian invader. It gave the nation its straightforwardness and that subcurrent of obstinacy, of unyielding determination that preserved its racial integrity through the course of centuries and finally carried it to political independence. Theirs is a hard life but set in the beauties of virgin forests and lakes, it fostered in them a poetic strain. Poetry was clearly woven into the daily life of the people. The ancient myths of the Finns and an evergrowing and changing mass of lyrics and legends were handed from generation to generation by village bards and it seems that the spontaneous expression of poetry by the Finns has died out after the introduction of the schools and the printed word. Their National Epic is *Kalevala*, reflecting Finnish life of their ancients. The simple-minded, poetic Finns glorying in their woodland scenes and lyrical poetry were soon conquered by the adjoining Swedes until in 1809 it became a ground Duchy under Russian protection. Subjugation and Conquest had been their lot, but their hardy character had withstood the cultural conversion which both

the Swedes and the Russians attempted. In 1917 as a result of the Russian debacle and amidst the chaos in Eastern Europe at the time of the treaty of Brestlinboork, the Finns declared their independence.

Modern Finland

Seven hundred years of intimate relationship with Sweden and a century of autonomous government under the aegis of Russia had made Finland a Nordic rather than a slave country, more like Norway, Sweden, Germany & Britain than of her earlier neighbour Russia. There is of course the difference, born of historical environment and circumstance that still persists. In spite of its old world charms, Finland was not slow to gain the advantages of the industrial civilisation of western Europe. The towns are modern and clean. Even in the rural districts, telephones, electric lighting and motor cars are the general rule, but these have not spoilt the virgin glory of her landscape. Finland is an industrial country but the industries rest as usual on the raw materials available. Timber, its main produce, furnishes here with a large export of lumber-rafts and paper and pulp. Next comes the dairy farming which, next to Denmark, gives Finland a prominent place. Her butter and cheese are well known all over Europe. The largest Hydrolic power station in Europe is in Finland, developing 148,000 B.H.P. and 200,000 B. H. P. at Imatra and Holy Rapid.

Modern Finland is a country alive with the Twentieth century spirit which is evident in her schools, colleges, universities and scientific institutions. This, probably is the only country in the whole world where, in proportion to the population more books are brought and read. The largest bookshop in the world comparatively speaking is at Helsinki, known hitherto to us as Helsingfors. The political outlook of the people is broad and Catholic. It is the first country in Europe to have given equal suffrage to men and women and to pass Alcohol Prohibition legislation. The Finns are a highly political race and are satinated

with poetry reflected in their folk dances, literature and love of sports. The Finns hold the longest number of records in the field of sports and it is surprising to leave that they attribute their good physique and culture to their national steam bath, popularly termed "Sauna"

Some Towns

The war has familiarised us with Helsinki, Abo, Turk, and Petsamo. Helsinki, with its population of 285,000 is the northernmost capital in Europe. It has all the modern adjuncts of any European metropolis, large and flourishing parks and promenades, open air restaurants, Music halls, Theatres, University, Parliament House and Harbour. All these are specimen of great architectural and engineering skill. Clean and light, with his houses and public buildings constructed out of granite and stucco and bathed in its crystal air, Helsinki is christened the white city of the North. One cultural aspect of Finnish life is mainly represented in her museums of which Helsinki boasts a large number. The Athaneam and Seurasaari, the latter the operain museum exhibiting Finnish life of ancient times and the Zoological gardens in the island of Korlkesaari are well worth a visit. Along with Helsinki, Turk needs mention, since it was the former Finnish capital and is the oldest town in the country. It is reputed to be the cradle of Finnish culture though little by way of testimony remains to prove it except her churches, chapels and castles. A large number of fires, destroyed the evidence. Turk was the seat of the first State University, but the University itself was shifted to Helsinki. Finnish love for leaving is typified by the two private universities which Turk possesses.

The Arctic Highway

The greatest tribute that can be paid to the builders of modern Finland lies in the Arctic Highway, the only motor road in the world to the shores of the Arctic Ocean and to the Aurora Borealis or the Land of the Midnight sun—an Extensive, fascinating region of huge forests, high

naked fells, rushing streams and desolate swamps. Darkness is unknown here in summer. Spring is its dawn and autumn is its twilight. In this wide country of Midnight sun live a few Laplanders, making their living by their traditional pursuit of breeding reindeer. Here in this remote corner of civilisation lies a monastery of Christian monks and past that lies the valley of Petsamojoki enclosing the harbour of Petsamo which had recently been the centre of naval warfare between the Russians and the Finns. What the sequel to the unholy and unequal conflict

between the mighty Russian state and the tiny country of Finland, it is difficult to say whatever be her fate. Finland will continue to be the land of glorious beauty and splendid sunshine of fascinating scenery and poetic peoples, exhibiting a wealth of industrial acumen and literary talent. The award of the Nobel Prize to the Finnish poet this year has elevated the country into a state of tragic eminence. The preservation of her integrity and independence is wished for her by her admirers.



Excess Profits Bill

The Britisher or for the matter of that the Anglo Saxon is a marvellously astute political being. Diplomacy with him is a fine art and nowhere is his fineness observed than in the invisible exploitation of the subjugated races. The French and the Dutch colonial statesmen are comparatively less clever. Their open and straight forward exploitation had led, in the past, to several risings and revolutions but the British Imperialists practise such delicate fineness in this art that few realise the implications of their political technique. Governing by proxy and vicarious responsibility for errors of statesmanship are their habitual methods and in India too on the eve of the conferring the so called dominion status of Westminster variety the central Government had announced the introduction of a measure of unprecedented financial oppression. The Provincial Government at Madras, generally credited as the poor man's Government had by the passing of the General Sales Tax Bill, sufficiently crippled the movements of commerce and trade and practically checked the inflow of decent living profits. The Sales Act had been assented from all quarters as a piece of partisan tyrannical legislation, robbing

Peter to pay Paul. Even before the agony of the people from the weight of the Sales Tax had died out, Sir James Kais Wan comes forward with the excess profits Bill in order to repay the court of Indian Defence, in these times of Extraordinary peril resulting from the European war. For justifying the introduction of this legislative measure, special Parliamentary sanction is obtained—and their evidence of the substance of Independence which India is promised.

Apart from the constitutional improprieties and irregularities involved if the Bill is to be carried through, is there any justification for such a hasty step on the part of the Central Government? Does the war situation even warrant and call for such a burdensome piece of legislation? Can India which had not made any profits out of war bear the taxation proposed to be imposed? Now of these interrogatories can be answered either favorably or affirmatively. The surplus budgets which the Government of India had been presenting put almost an effective check on the plea of financial necessity. The Government of India and the British Government had often indulged in the widest propaganda

that as against the most progressive and modern Governments of Europe and America, India balanced her budgets freely and capably, and what a financially sound Government can, if international situation so requires it, first adopt rigid retrenchment and reduction measures before resorting to oppressive legislation. The fat salaried Government official can first be dealt with. More than 90% of them will be ready to carry on their duties with more success and satisfaction if their encroachments can be cut down by at least 50%. This will not only effect great savings, but also improve the moral of the class which, by an undeserved scale of salaries, the like of which is unknown in other parts of the world, has grown indifferent to duty, arrogant in behaviour and oppressive in administration. This will also prevent inflation — a possibility dreaded by the orthodox economist, though modern financiers have, as in Japan, not looked upon such a procedure as in any way affecting the interest of domestic prosperity or external commerce.

Students of Indian Economic life know that the average earnings of Indian people have not risen and that, consequently, very little room is left either for the war-profits-monger or for the ordinary trader to bear fresh taxation. As the Calcutta opinion

amongst business circles shows "The Indian Government will be faced with stout opposition to their proposed Excess Profits tax and may be obliged to accept drastic amendments if not to drop the bill altogether". Above all, the great promise made to the Indian Industrialists that the progress of Indian industry would be accelerated, would receive as death blow. In order to receive at least consideration at the hands of the Indian people or their representatives in the Central Legislature, far reaching changes have to be made. The sphere of the operation of the tax must be restricted and exception of several other categories of producers of wealth carried out and a broad-visioned differentiation effected in the treatment of various industries and enterprises. In essence, the Bill is unjustifiable though at a later time, if war continues till then, such a legislative step, making a deep furrow in the economic and industrial life of the country may be satisfactorily considered. At present it is hasty, ill-advised, replete, in its form with constitutional irregularities. The sooner it is dropped, the better. But there do not seem to be signs of it as the Select Committee is asked to submit report by the first week of March. If it cannot be dropped, it must be amended downright. The silent imperialism of finance cannot be permitted to drain Indian wealth & thwart the industrial progress.

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Hindusthan, even as they, in England, France, America, Germany, Italy, Russia, Japan, etc. have got; and is resolved to work up towards that end by "all proper and legitimate means" at its disposal.

Thus the ideology and methods of the Congress and the Hindu Maha Sabha in respect of our Dharma, Artha and Kaama

which three shall lead eventually to our Moksha, vary largely; and unless the Congress will take the warning of the Hindu Sabha betimes and tries to correct itself in terms of our traditional aspiration and method, the Hindu Sabha is bound to get more popular and very soon more successful at the poles as well as in our dealings with the states and Rulers, including the British Government.



Gita-Jayanti

K. Subba Rao, B. A., B. L., Advocate.

It has become customary in some places to celebrate what is styled Gita-Jayanti on Vaikunta Ekadasi day. The Theosophical society in particular has been calling upon all its branches to celebrate the Gita-Day in an appropriate manner.

This year a leaflet has been issued by Dr. G. S. Arundale the president of the society to celebrate the 11th day of the bright half of Margashira month even at the International Head Quarters of the Theosophical society.

Let us examine on which day Sri Bhagavan taught Gita rather sang the song celestial before the commencement of the Mahabharata war. It is to be observed that Vaikunta Ekadasi occurs on the 1st Sukla Ekadasi after the sun enters 'Dhanussu' (Sajjitarious) so that it need not necessarily be on Margasira SudhaEkadasi. A glance at the Almanac of the past few years shows that very often, Vaikunta Ekadasi falls more in the month of Pushya than in Margasira.

(1) Sukla (1929-30) Pushya Sudha 11. 11-1-1930 Margasira Sudha 10—15-12-29.

(2) Pramoda 1930-31 Pushya Sudha 11,31-12-30 Margasira Bahula 10—15-12-30.

(3) Prajotpathi 1931—32 Margasira 20-12-31 — 16-12-31 Margasira Sudha 7.

(4) Angirasa 1932-33 Pushya Sudha 7-1-33 — 15-12-32 Margasira Bahula 2.

(5) Srimukha 933-34 Pushya Sudha 27-12-33 — 15-12-33 Margasira Bahula 13.

(6) Bhava 1934-35 Margasira Sudha 16-12-34 — 15-12-34 Margasira Bahula 13.

N. B: — The 1st date is the day on which 'Vaikunta Ekadasi occurred and the 2nd date refers to the day when the sun enters 'Dhanussu'

(7) Yuva 1935- 36 Pushya Sudha 1-1-36—15-12-35 Margasira Bahula 10.

(8) Iswara 1937—38 Pushya Sudha 12-1-38—15-12-37 Margasira Sudha 12.

(9) Bahudhanya 1938—39 Pushya Sudha 2 1-39—15-12-38 Margasira Bahula 9.

(10) Pramadi 1939—40 Margasira Sudha 22-12-39—16-12-39 Margasira Sukla.

The foregoing table shows that in the course of a decade Vaikunta Ekadasi occurs only thrice in the month of Margasira. It now falls to be considered whether the month of Margasira is the deciding factor for the celebration of the Githa day; if so, it is an accident that Vaikunta Ekadasi falls in the month of Margasira now and then.

There are three important dates given in Bharata Savithryupakhyanam with reference to the Mahabharata war.

हेमन्ते प्रथमे मासि शुक्लपक्षं त्रयोदशी
प्रवृत्ते भारतं युद्धं नक्त्रे यमदैवते ॥
सप्तम्यांच हतोभीष्मः
अमाया मूर्ध्वपागेतु राजाद्युर्घाणस्तथा.

Fight proper commenced on the 13th day of the bright half of Margasira when Mrugasira was the star of the day. Bhishma fell on the 7th day of the dark half and Duryodhana on the Amavasya day of Margasira.

If the battle proper began on the 10th day of Margasira it is probable that on the 11th day of (Ekadasi) when the armies were arrayed on either side by the respective leaders, that Arjuna wanted to have a look at them and therefore asked his charioteer (Sri Krishna) to station his chariot between the two opposing armies. सेनयोरुम्योर्मध्येरबं स्थापयमेऽच्युत ! Then the story goes that Arjuna on seeing his kith

and kin and gurus and others for whom he had highest reverence dressed in colours ready to be sacrificed in the war, was smitten with sorrow and depression making his blood creep cold in his veins as a result of which his bow (Gandiva) dropped from his hand and he sank in the chariot like a heap of clay. Then it was out of mercy for the sad and woeful plight of Arjuna, Sri Krishna was pleased to sing the song celestial to dispel 'Moha' which clouded Arjuna's vision and immersed him in grief.

The teaching of Bhagavan Sri Krishna is beyond the scope of the present discussion. It would appear from Bharata Savithryupakhyana that the fight proper began on the 13th day of bright half of Margasira and that Bhishma fell in the battle on the 7th day of the dark half of that month. In Mahabharatam we find that Bhishma was lying on the bed of arrows अस्त्रय for 42 days before he began to give up his five pranas one on each day. Counting from Margasira Bahula Saptami we have 8 days in that month, 30 days in Pushya month, and 5 days in Magham making in all 43 days. There was 'Luptathithi' during the period thus making it 42 days. It is an accepted fact that Bhishma fought for 10 days in the war; therefore counting back 10 days from Saptami we come to 13th day of Margasira (bright half). Thus the date given in Bharata Savithryupakhyanam is quite in keeping with the timings given in Mahabharata for the beginning of the War.

The day previous to 13th day of war spent in preliminaries like sending

Namaskara Banams to Gurus and elders. There can be no doubt that Gita was revealed to Arjuna on the Ekadasi day of the bright half of Margasira. It is necessary that all the Hindus should celebrate the Gita-Jayanti day (11th day of bright half of Margasira month) every year in a fitting manner by chantings and recitations of Gita, holding Gita Examinations, or giving of prizes and by free distribution of copies of Gita in the various vernaculars of the provinces. Be it remembered that Vaikunta Ekadasi has nothing to do with the Gita Jayanti day except that both fall on the same day once in 3 or 4 years. Mr. G. V. Ketkar's article in the Dharmarajya goes on to say that on account of a difference of opinion between the scholars of Poona and Nagpur the matter was referred to late prof. G. S. Apte, Principal, Madhava college and Superintendent of the observatory at Ujjain who made his own calculations and came to the conclusion that on the 11th day of the bright half of Margasira month, Gita was revealed. To enable the Hindus to join in the celebration of such a pious day, we should carry on agitation for making it a public holiday all over India, under the Negotiable Instruments Act since the religion preached by Lord Krishna in the Bhagavadgita is universal religion, other co-religionists also may join the Hindus in their demand for making Gita-Jayanti day a holiday. In the course of Jubilee address delivered by Mr. M. Ruthnaswami on 30-12-39 in connection with the silver jubilee celebrations of St. Thomas club, he exhorted his audience to study Hinduism at least to defend their own religion. They can't do better than study Bhagavat Gita with right mental attitude under a proper teacher.



Silver Yesterday and Today

What Happened Between 1918 And 1939

THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA'S POSITION

Powers Under The Defence Of India Rules

The following authoritative technical article is of great interest to all those concerned with the silver market. It outlines the history of silver from the end of the last war and enables the present position to be understood.

Silver speculators in particular will read it with profit.

During the latter part of the last war the price of silver began to rise. In 1918 it actually reached 49½d. per ounce. This was mainly due to the heavy demand from almost all the countries for coinage purposes. In India for example during the years 1915-16 to 1918-19, over 110 crores of silver rupees were absorbed. From 1920 silver coins began to return from circulation. Hence the demand for the metal for coinage purposes practically ceased.

In India between 1920 and 1937 the entire amount of the silver coin absorbed during the war period returned from circulation. The production of silver however continued at the same or at a higher rate.

Difficulties were also increased by the fact that the Government of India and some other Governments had huge stocks of surplus silver owing to return of silver coin from circulation and these Governments, including the Government of India, were trying to dispose of these surplus stocks. The result was that the price began to fall rapidly.

The fall was greatly accentuated during the last depression and in 1931 it actually touched 13½d per ounce. The fall in price was naturally little to the liking of the silver producers who, especially those in the United States of America, strongly advocated a policy of remonetising silver or of raising its price in other ways.

The U. S. A., China and India.

An attempt was made at the World Economic Conference held in London in

1933 to reconcile the three conflicting forces, viz., the American and other producers aiming at a rise in price; the Chinese Government, which had a silver standard, wanting stabilisation; and the Indian Government wanting to dispose of its surplus holding.

The agreement reached provided that during the period of four years beginning on January 1, 1934, the Indian Government was to restrict its sale to 35 million ounces a year, the Governments of Australia, Canada, the United States of America, Mexico and Peru were not to sell any silver but to purchase or otherwise arrange for withdrawing from the market 35 million ounces a year.

The Government of China was not to sell silver resulting from demonetised coin and the Government of Spain was not to sell more than five million ounces a year.

The American silver interests were far from satisfied with the agreement and their pressure on the President continued. As a result, the Silver Purchase Act was passed by the United States Congress.

U. S. Silver Purchase Act

This measure declared it the intention of the United States Government to purchase silver until its monetary reserves consisted of $\frac{2}{3}$ gold and $\frac{1}{3}$ silver. The measure was passed on June 20, 1934. But the programme was to be a long range one. The ultimate object of the measure was to try to raise the price of silver till it reached 129½ cents per ounce or about

64d. per ounce. As a preliminary step the President was also authorised compulsorily to purchase all silver in the United States of America. As a result of the American purchases, the price of silver went on rising until it reached 36½d. in London in April, 1935.

The result of this increase in price was that China was forced to go off the silver standard and Mexico was forced to give up silver as a currency medium.

The U. S. Government realised that the action taken by them had not been successful and the rise in price depended entirely on the purchases made by them. They therefore began to slacken their programme of purchases with the result that the price began to fall again; it ranged between 18 & 19d. in 1936-37 and 1937-38 and 1938-39. It dropped further to about a little over 16d. in July, 1939. Just before the war it was 18 7/16ths pence. With the depreciation of sterling in terms of dollar it again rose to between 21 and 22d.

The Government of India has been selling its surplus silver in the London market from 1927. With the conclusion of the silver agreement in 1933 their sales were limited to the maximum fixed by that agreement, but when the prices were rising rapidly as a result of the American policy the Government of India could not think of disposing of its surplus stocks. As, if the objective of the United States Government had been reached, the price of silver would have been much above the melting point of the rupee and all the silver rupees in circulation would have disappeared.

The Government of India would then have been forced to undertake a large coinage programme with perhaps a reduced silver content.

When the price began to fall as a result of the slackening of the American purchases the Government of India could not sell more than the amount laid down by the silver agreement of 1934. Even after this agreement expired any large

scale sales by the Government of India would have caused serious repercussions on the silver market.

Government of India's Surplus

When the war began the Government of India was thus left with about 160 million ounces of surplus silver in addition to about 76 crores of rupees with the Reserve Bank of India.

When war began it became necessary for His Majesty's Government to stop all imports of silver from non-sterling countries except under licence with the object of conserving foreign exchange, mainly dollar exchange.

As a result of this embargo the price of silver in London would have gone up considerably. This was prevented by the Indian Government stepping in with its huge surplus stocks. They began to sell in London freely at about 23½d. per ounce which was approximately the London price at the time of the embargo.

The demand for silver in the London market was mainly from India. There was also a small demand for trade and war purposes.

The Indian demand was met by sales in London for delivery at the Bombay Mint. The purchase price was paid by the Indian importer in sterling and the silver was delivered to him in Bombay from the Mint. The sales were first conducted in London even to meet the Indian demand as we had an organisation there which had been selling silver for us from 1927.

Later on, however, as almost the entire demand came from India some practical difficulties arose and it was decided that from December 14, 1939, the sales of India Government silver to meet the Indian demand should be made by the Reserve Bank of India on behalf of the Government of India.

As a result of the embargo on the imports of silver in India and United

Kingdom the speculators in Bombay began to buy huge quantities of silver in the hope of being able to corner the market and thus raise prices.

The price in India and United Kingdom had already risen above the American parity owing to the refusal of the Government of India and the Government of the United Kingdom to permit imports from America.

Although the Government of India has huge stocks of surplus silver it is mostly in the form of current and uncurrent rupees and standard silver. As the Indian demand was mainly for refined silver there was the possibility of the Indian Government being unable to meet the demand for refined silver owing to the limited capacity of their silver refinery.

Import Licences

To get over this difficulty the Government of India decided to issue through the Reserve Bank of India licences for limited imports of silver from America subject to the condition that the importers sold such silver at prices fixed by the Bank. As these prices were above the American import parity price, it was also decided that the importer should part with a sub-

stantial amount of his profit to the Reserve Bank, i. e., ultimately to the Government of India.

The power to do this was taken by the Government of India by the amendment to the Defence of India Rules issued on December 18.

The main object of this measure was to prevent price of silver dropping suddenly which would have affected seriously the large rural population which has invested its savings in silver. At the same time the measure was intended to prevent the rise in the price of silver much beyond the world price which would have ultimately led to a crash in the silver market.

The readiness to grant licences for import of silver subject to certain conditions should be a sufficient indication to the speculators that the Government of India have no intention of allowing silver prices to rise above the present level.

The position created by the limited capacity of the Bombay silver refinery will also be simplified considerably by the recent amendment made by the Bombay bullion exchange in their rules. Formerly only fine silver bars were tenderable at the bullion settlements but now standard silver bars are also tenderable.

Chitraprabha

A commentary on Haridikshita's
"LAGHUSABDARATNA"

BY

BHAGAVATA HARISASTRI

Edited with Notes by :

Mahamahopadhyaya Tata Subbarayasastri

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Tirumala Sreenivasa Trilinga Mahavidya Peetham

Ayurvedam - Attempts to make it up-to-date

By Vaidyaraj Dr D. S. AVADHANY

Opportunities should be created to study Ayurvedam as it is direct from the original texts in the traditional manner. Earnest students must be entrusted to efficient masters. If teachers who are experts in all the branches of the science are not available a number of specialists must be gathered in the institution so that by mutual help and co-operation they might give a comprehensive knowledge of the science to the students. The existing institutions do not satisfy these requirements to any extent. The great universities of this country have neglected this branch of knowledge. Much was hoped from the Benares Hindu University but the hopes were not realised.

The expert Ayurvedic physicians are scattered here and there throughout the country. There are very few of them. To congregate them in a single institution for at least a decade is not an utopian idea. If only a responsible authority earnestly applies its mind to it the scheme can be easily worked out without much outlay. A number of such experts collaborating in a single institution can easily devise methods to improve the science.

Indian Industrial Exhibitions served only to supply patterns and samples to foreign manufacturers but they did not very much help to encourage indigenous industries. In the same way the vigorous propaganda that is carried on to popularise Ayurvedic Medicines is only offering an inducement to foreign companies like Merk & Co., to manufacture medicines like Makaradhwaja on a commercial scale entirely disregarding the Ayurvedic Methods of purification etc. Up-to-datism in Ayurvedam unfortunately seems to mean the introduction of commercialism. Even the gathering of the drugs and preparation of the Medicines according to the Ayurvedic science is intimately connected with definite modes of religious worship and upasana prescribed by the Hindu scriptures.

It is no wonder that Medicines prepared by non-believers whose sole object is to push them into the Market and make profit out of them, do not show good results even when they are not positively deleterious.

Quality is sacrificed to quantity. Our modern Ayurvedic pharmacists are more solicitous about the appearance of the bottles, labels and packing than about the purity of the medicine. To circumvent the inconvenience of patients having to prepare fresh *Kashayams* as and when required *Kashayams* are preserved and sold by mixing alcohol and such other preservatives.

Preparation of medicines by manual labour in the traditional style is considered slow and uneconomic from the Commercial point of view and the machine-made medicine is largely in demand. Some Indian drugs are analysed only with a view to incorporate them in the British Pharmacopia but in doing so they do not have any regard for the *Tridosha* theory of Ayurvedic Medicine. In their anxiety to improve Ayurvedic knowledge, Allopathic medical terms are translated into Sanskrit or the vernaculars and introduced into new Ayurvedic texts. But these coined terms often times are erroneous and misleading. Hybrid prescriptions are fabricated as by mixing quinine in *Seetamsurasa*. Without taking any trouble to study the condition of the *Tridoshas* in the patient the modern Ayurvedic physician emulates his allopathic brother in the use of the thermometer and the Stethoscope.

These are some of the outstanding features of Ayurvedic renaissance. These external embellishments do not touch the care of the science and such of them as do kill the spirit of the science itself. In their anxiety to bring up Ayurvedam to the level of fashionable allopathy our modern Dhanvantaries are ignoring its basic principles.

It is more than doubtful whether the application of modern scientific methods and the use of scientific appliances is conducive to hygienic and sanitary conditions, whether the steps we are adopting are progressive or retrogressive. People are progressed with the evil spirit of profiteering in every walk of life. The in-born instincts of truth (Satyam) compassion (Daya) Purity (Saucham) are fast becoming extinct. All foodstuffs are adulterated with a variety of noxious stuff and the very science which invents appliances to detect adulteration teaches the profiteering merchant the methods to circumvent it. Milk is adulterated scientifically to stand the test of the lactometre. Scientific talents are prostituted for purely commercial and profiteering ends. Noxious vegetable product is flooding the market. The production of genuine ghee and butter is decreasing as all the available milk is consumed by hotels and restaurants. These

cheap but really deleterious substitutes are encouraged as items in the development of indigenous industries.

The state ought to be more careful about the quality of food stuffs offered for sale. Tinned food and meat condemned by Ayurvedic physicians should be driven out of the market. As far as possible hand pounding of rice should be encouraged and factories should be directed not to produce highly polished rice. The health of the community is ruined to a greater extent by these noxious than by the habit of toddy drinking.

It is a pity that those who are governing the destinies of our country at the present moment do not pay sufficient attention to these matters. The spirit of **Swadeshi** is to be encouraged not merely in regard to articles but in regard to ideas and ideals of life as well.



Tirumala Sreenivasa Trilinga Mahavidya Peetham

OUR IDEA of Mahavidya Peetham

(*Sarvatantra Swatantra Kalasala*)

ADHIPATI:

Vaidyarat Dr. D. S. AVADHANY

Our Mahavidya-Peetham is intended to preserve the ancient culture as it is, so that opportunities might be created for research scholars to work upon it and realise its ultimate aim.

Mainly Indian culture is embodied in Vedas, Sastras and the sixty four arts and crafts. An earnest attempt is to be made to maintain the ~~level~~ of our education.

The ancient tradition of our Gurukulam is almost extinct. The modern Pathashalas are preparing students for university examinations as Vidvan, Siromani etc. The Oriental institutes are intended more to teach the West about India than to

understand India from the Indian view point. The process of Adhyayanam or study in modern Sanskrit institutes is not in conformity with the Sampradaya of our Gurukulam. Faith introspection or tapas are utterly disregarded and the approach to Sanskrit is on western lines. Eastern education on Western lines is a contradiction in itself and never bears fruit. Savants of western culture approach Sanskrit with an air of patronage and try to pick up points from it for their own imaginations and theories with the aid of ancient pandits whom they regard simply as guides in a forest and not as masters. The traditional pandits for want of patronage cater to the needs of their patrons — the western research scholars by trying to twist

the meanings of the texts to suit the tastes of the masters. A ghastly instance to illustrate this is the comparative philology now being forged on western lines by Indian pandits. The historical criticism on Sanskrit literature is another grotesque picture illustrating the incapacity of modern scholars to understand the soul of Aryan culture.

Avoiding, for the present, all controversies and granting for the sake of argument that this new phase of criticism deserves serious consideration, we assert that an attempt to preserve the relics of ancient culture and raise it to its original level as far as possible is a thing which must be taken up seriously by the no-changers and the reformers as well. We do not advocate the attempt to broadcast the ancient culture as it is on a large scale. We only mean to preserve the seed of it for reference or improvement. To be more clear we should like to maintain one representative for each science, art or craft in a district. Thus we have one scholar in Veda, one in each of the sastras like Tarkam and Vyakaranam, one brilliant scholar who is capable of interpreting the Veda with the aid of all the sciences, one Grihastha typical in himself embodying the principles of Aryadharma and likewise all Varnas and Asramas. Thus we have a living encyclopaedia of Aryan culture theoretical and practical.

To achieve this end we propose to educate public opinion on the need for establishing an Asramam or small colony or Agraharam, which we trust will be a miniature Bharata Varsha. To be more practical we propose to have an institute where we gather the best Pundits of our country who are very enthusiastic about the holy purpose of preserving Indian culture. Those who are well up in one Sastra will read one more. Those who are adepts in two will read other sciences as well according to their capacity. Those who are masters of one science will conduct researches and write original treatises. Those who are perfect in Indian sciences can study western sciences and write comparative discourses,

One who knows his own Sakha Vedam will be encouraged to study the other Vedams as well. Those who are well versed in the Veda will be encouraged to study the Angas, or the branches.

If fifty research scholars are congregated in a place for a period of twelve years we hope to do much to revive our culture and raise the level of our sciences arts and crafts,

Along with this institution if we maintain a few families in all Varnas (castes) and Asramas there will be occasion for the practical application of the Sroutha and Smarta.

We can provide this Mahavidya Peetham with a complete library for the use of the scholars. We can invite Pundits from far and near and encourage them to stay with us for long periods, as they conduct the Lake conferences of experts in America, we can conduct our Parishats for long periods and encourage a free exchange of ideas. Thus we can revive many methods which have fallen into disuse—for instance, Vakyartaha-method of discourse in Sastrams is almost extinct. It is to be found to some extent in Benares so far for Vedam and Sastram. The Mahavidya-Peetham can also have reading of Puranas Itihasam for the benefit of those who cannot study but have a craving for knowledge. Occasional exhibitions of Drama, Bharata Natyam ballads and the like and the institution of Bhajanam will be a boon to men and women alike.

Regarding Craft.

Our Samsthanams, the estates of our Rajas and Maharajahs maintained many artisans and craftsmen. Now the sastrams are becoming extinct. Even the surviving Rajahs have not the old zeal for Indian things. Modern education made them slaves of a false taste. Thus they are filling their homes with foreign articles.

A bank started with the Co-operation of patriots will give advances to the best

(Continued on page 16)

Prabuddha Bharata

OR AWAKENED INDIA

January 1940

With this Number the Prabuddha Bharata enters into the forty-fifth year of its publication. The Number opens with the "Gospel of Sri Ramakrishna," which is followed by an interesting class-lesson on "Pranayama" by Swami Vivekananda. The Editorial — "On the Threshold of a New Era" discusses the necessity for directing philosophical thought towards the discovery of essential values in all departments of life, and also points out the influence of Upanishadic teachings on the life-work of some of the eminent sons of India. In the article, "Swami Vivekananda—the Prophet of New India", Prof. S. N. L. Shrivastava, M. A., tells how the advent of the great Swami has brought back to the people of India, that sense of national self-respect and creative venture which are indispensable for true freedom and national reconstruction. This is followed by an exhaustive study on "Mysticism and Poetic Moods" by Prof. A. C. Bose, M.A., Ph.D. Next comes Swami Prabhavananda's thoughtful article on "Worship and Meditation". The article on "Student-life in Pre-Buddhist India" by Mr. Taponath Chakravarty, M.A., will be of interest to parents and educationists. "The Master and His Disciples", an illustrated article, is a tribute by the well-known educationist and thinker Mr. Kakasaheb Kalekar to the Monastic Order of Sri Ramakrishna, of which he claims to be a lay-brother. "Reason and Revelation" by Prof. Mahen-

dranath Sircar, M. A., Ph. D., Professor of Philosophy, Calcutta University, contains new matter of interest to students of philosophy and religion. In the article on "Importance of India to the Western World" Prof. Joachin Wach, Ph. D. of the Brown University, Providence, U.S.A., tells how religious mysticism helps people to rise above social and national barriers. Prof. Teja Singh, M. A., of Lahore, contributes an English translation of one of the lyrics said to have been recited by Guru Arjun at his own marriage. A sketch of the life of Saint Thondar-adip-podi, one of the twelve great saints of Southern Vaishnavism is given under the title "Dust at the devotees' feet". This is followed by an English translation of the saint's "Sacred hymn of awakening." Under "Notes and Comments", the Editor comments upon "The New attitude towards Social Service", "The Rights of the Child", "Three great Messages of Sri Ramakrishna" and "Spiritual Freedom". Book review and news and reports from Ramakrishna Mission centres in India and abroad form regular features of the journal. The annual subscription including postage is Rupees Four only. Intending subscribers may remit this amount by Money Order addressed to the Manager, Advaita Ashrama, 4, Wellington Lane, Calcutta, or instruct him to recover the amount by V. P. Post.

(Continued from page 15)
 craftsmen for materials and buy the finished articles from them. The craftsmen will produce their best pieces of art and receive wages from the bank. The organisers of the bank will advertise the finished articles to purchasers, Rajahs, merchants, officers, and tourists. Thus weavers, carpenters, smiths, basket-makers, carpet-makers, and the like will have occasion to make their best. Thus we preserve the best specimens of art and craft.

Although we cannot maintain all

the artists and craftsmen in the country, we have still the satisfaction of maintaining one man for each art and craft.

The Mahavidyalayam proposed by our Peetham if it comes into being by the grace of God will thus revive the culture, craft and art of our country.

This will be a model school for Indian culture. The no-changers can learn as it is. The reformers are provided with the original to make their improvements and conduct researches and comparative study for the benefit of the world culture.

Andhra Social Life and Organisation (For a Province)

BY

Baron B. Seshagiri Rao, M. A., Ph. D., M. S. A.,

President (*Emeritus*)

Andhra Research University, Vizianagaram

(contd. from the previous issue)

Appendix I

Copy of Vizianagaram Treaty, 1758 A. D.

Sunnad executed by Sree Gajapati Raju Maha Razu to Englis Colonel Ford as you have engaged to us in our good, bad circumstances, we executed this sunnad engaging to pay you monthly Rs. 56,000 to your sirdars and soldiers - we should pay you ready money according to this binding on our arrival at Rajahmundry for the days that you are engaged with us in action from the day of your landing at Vizagapatam and not for the day remaining without action. We and you shall divide among ourselves any booty that may fall to our lot in battles as it became the condition that the Circars which are under the French to be in our possession and the seaports with their villages to be in your possession. We & you shall not deviate to these bindings. If ever any action takes place in any of the Circars you will be in assistance to us. This is executed through the English Commander Mr. Andrews signed /2/ 

To the army	Sirdars
thus	50,000
	6000

Note—This is a photograph copy of the copy in the family of Mr. Subnavis Raghavendra Rao of Vizagapatam. Mr. John Andrew's Letter dated 14th December 1758 to Hon. George Pigot Esq., President and Governor of Fort St. George and Council varies from this in some material respects and obscures the fact of Raja Anandraj having engaged the Company's Officers and Soldiers almost on terms of "Daily Wages". In the year 1758 the

fortunues of the Company in the Circars were at their lowest and the Court of Directors wrote (Madras Despatches 12th May 1758 Para 13 Vol. I. page 921-b):—

"The loss of the Northern settlement is of so great importance to the Company that we shall depend upon you having done and continuing to do everything in your power for their recovery". Again they say (5th July 1758) that "whenever those settlements were recovered and restored, you are to consider what will be the best method of providing the investments, whether by contracts with men or by the Bengal method of Gourastahs or any other which shall appear most advantageous to the Company". For in 1757 the East India Company lost all its settlements in the Circars. While, this treaty or Sannad given by Raja Anandraj to the Company shows that he was virtually in possession of the Circars. Though the Circars came under the French in 1753 from the Nizam, yet during the first few years after, they did not come under their complete control. Viziaramaraj The Great, of Kumila was never under Bussey. Indeed as *Rangaraya Charitra* shows, he disputed his authority and settled the Country for him at the request of Hyderjung who met the Rajah at Satyavaram in advance — Even as late as 1767 by which time for 8 years the Madras Government were concerned in the Revenue affairs of the Circars and the Company acquired at least a nominal right to the possession of the countries by the grant of Sha Alam in 1765 (contrary to the Vizianagaram Treaty of 1758) and by the incomplete treaty of Hyderabad in 1766, the court of Directors wrote "Another powerful motive for engaging the Rajah of Chicacole (Raja Sita-

ramaraju, brother of Maharaja Vijayaram II) in our interest, is the advantage that may thereby accrue in the extension of our investment, an object which ought never give place to any other, for it is by that means only we see any probability of realising at home any part of our territorial revenues. (Madras Despatches, 4th March 1767.)

The change of this attitude and tone on the part of the Vizagapatam, and Madras Governments and Court of Directors towards Vizianagaram, led ultimately to the Battle of Padmanabham. It was Orin's Report dated in 1784 from Chicacole that was the basis of those transactions which lost for the N. Circars the chances of being a "State" like Travancore or Mysore. Admitting that the Pusapati family held practical Sarvabhoumatva in Kalinga and even in the Circars, Orin's committee definitely recommended that their status and power should be reduced to that of other Zamindars or renters in the Circars. Considering the remark in this Report that the family rose "from the humble rank of Sardar over a small body, Mercenaries under the Mahomedans", it would be interesting to note and remember a few interesting epigraphical and literary evidences about them at a time when Moslem influence did not disturb the N. Circars — Their Ancestor Devavarma, Lord of Telinga forces (తెలంగాణాస్తివింపి) seems to have followed a Kosala king Jayaditya (the Vijayaditya, ancestor of Chalukyas who died in a war with Cholas and Pallavas) in a southern conquering expedition and vanquished Pandya, Kekaya, and Chola, and, after the death of his leader, established a kingdom in Kalinga, in the return march by conquering Ballaha (cf. the Pandyas include in their title a phrase Parichedigandam in memory of this conflict with Parichedi Devavarma of Vasistha Gotra) — This Devavarma had a son Buddhavarma whose son was Dharmaripati who in turn had Buddha Varma and Devavarma, and this latter Buddhavarma who became famous had a son Madhavavarma, who had siddhi in Saptasati with its ḡegas and made upasana of Kanakadurga. It was he who

transferred the capital to Bezwada about Saka 548. In all Epigraphs of Parichedi-Pusapatis, this Madhavavarma, favoured by Kanaka Durga is claimed as ancestor. The Amaravati Marbles contain the earliest inscription of this family in 10th cy. A. D. in which Chikka Bhilma is mentioned as ruler — The Anumakonda Inscription of Prola (Kakatiya King) in Canerese Characters and language, the date of which works out to A. D. 1126-27, refers to a subsidiary grant, made by Melarasa of Ugravadi, of one māṭṭa of wet land below a tank which belonged to Oramgallu included within his rule. His descent is stated as follows: " ఆచ్ఛాదంతి సక్కాస్తాణి దశాంతి వాజనాంతి అనంతంతాదసంఘాతం ఇత్తేశ హాధారమై కంటోద్భవరపు " One of the Bhat Verses of the Pusapati family refers to him as " ఎసమిదిశేల పోరగల యైసులుకు వడిశేలా ! క్రై-ని దశలక్ష వాజులును క్ర్యోబోలు నమంతప్పులున్ ! ఫుముగద్దు నూచుర్చుకు గారహంబున్ ! " But this rock inscription was discovered only in 1902. From Ep. Rep. a Southern circle for 1906-1907 we learn that about the time of Krishnaraya of Vijayanagar, a feudatory family were ruling a portion of Udayagiri Rajya claiming descent from Madhava Varma of the Solar race and Vasistha Gotra — While, from the Kondaveedu Insn. of Sree Krishnadevaraya and " Krishnavijayam " of Pusapati Tamma Bhupala we learn that Pusapati Rachiraju was a Son-in-law and Sumanta of Pratapa Rudra of Cuttack in Kalinga and attacked Krishnaraya and the Karnata forces along with his brother-in-law Virabhadra Gajapathy.

Appendix II

Additional notes to illustrate sections in parts I and II of the Address

NOTES — (1) Page 5, I:— The Telugu Mahabharata, in several verses, praises the dedication of Raja Raja to Dharmas. e. g. — పరమశర్మలికు Bh. I. i 9; లక్ష్మిరంతర ధర్మకుట Bh. I. i. 164; లక్ష్మిశర్మప్రాపంభ Bh.

I. ii 249; ఫర్మిల భ. I. iii. 1; ఫర్మిల భ. I. iv 275; II. ii 321; ఫర్మిల భ. II. ii. 322.

(2) Page. 5. I:— **Vemana**, the popular **sudra** poet became an “**Aradhyā**” and founded a mutt and became worshipped as a **Siva Guru**. Vide “**Vemanaradhya**” as the sur-name of a Saiva Brahman Poet— This Poet Sangamesvara is described in the colophon of a MSS of Ahalyasankranda Vilasam as శ్రీచూమారాధ్య సింహసనాచార్య — Vide Triennial Catalogue of Oriental Manuscripts. Vol II p. 459. Madras 1921.

(3) Page 4. I:— There are several Epigraphical references to **Nagas** as Kshatriya ruling clans in the North India and Kosala:—

e.g. S.991 or A.D. 1069. Kuruspal (Bastar State) Inscripticn of the time of the Nagavamsi King Someswara of Kasyapa gotra —

cf. Great Queen Kubera Naga of the Naga family, the queen of M. Chandragupta II and mother of Prabhavati Gupta chief queen of Vakataka Maharaj Rudrasena II, also **Bhavanaga** of a “**Bharasiva**” yamsa, the father of the queen Gautami, whose son **Gautamiputra** was the son's son of Maharaja Pravarasena I of Vakatakas who made **Asvamedha** four times. This **Bhavanaga** is said to have made **Asvamedha ten times**. It is also of interest to note that under one of these Vakataka Maharajas, called, **Devasena**, a Brahmin called **Hastibhoja** of **Valluri Vamsa** was minister. (Arch. Surv. W. India Vol. IV pp 124 ff.)

(4) The Sarangarh copper plates of Mahasudeva Raja (of Kosala) [Ep. Ind. 281] mention the following **Pandita Brahmanas** of Kausika (i.e. Viswamitra) Gotra:— Bhaskarawami (of Trisahasra Vidya) — Prabhakarawami — Barbara Swami — Bhotoswami — Dattaswami — Vishnuswami — Phalgunswami — Swamikirtiswami and Sankarawami; also kanker plates of Paruparajadeva of Kosala mention **Lakshmidhara Sarma**.

Another interesting fact preserved in Telugu Literature is that the **Maletas** adopted by Viswamitra for the moment as his children to try and test Harischandra seem to have left a tradition which had founded a “**Harikula**” of **Viswamitra Gotra**. A poet belonging to this caste says as follows:—

శాస్త్రిక గ్రేతావ ఫునతం లెక్కి
సర్వవిర్యో యాందు పతుపుడై యొన్న
అల ఎగమల్లి యా యులన్న వును
చమణి రత్నంజైన లక్ష్మాంబును
పరసుతుడు ధీండు నంశాస్వయుండు
శ్రీపర్సి కలఱాను చిరయిశోర్సుడు
కరవయి లోకుల కొదును వాడ
గుయపూడ పద్మముల్ కొమర్చాపు దంచి॥
(ప్రాచారణలక్ష్మి : త్రయి. త్రయి. ii pt. 3 Telugu)

In this connection it is worth noting that Kharavela, in the Hathigumpha Insn. refers to **Avara**. “**Ava** is given as a dynasty by the **Bhagavata Purana** and **Vishnu Purana** equates it with **Andhras**. Ptolemy mentions a people called **Avarni** or **Aruarni** near the **Krishna**.” Possibly these are a **Vaisvamitriya** or earlier colony of **Avarna Andhra Aryans** referred to by Prof. Narasinga Rao on the basis of the very puranas which are said to identify them as **Andhras**. Are these the **Avars** of Apastamba sutras?

Note (5) Page 7 Pt. I.— The sabaras were an actively fighting race, fighting perhaps for sovereignty in or about **Sreekurmam**, near Chicacole in **Ganjam Dt.** (vide **S. S Kurmam Insn.** of **Narahraritirtha** of **S. S 1203. Ep. Ind. Vol. VI p 260 ff.**)

Note (6) Pt. I Page 2. — **Traces of Early Andhra Rule in Rayalasima:—**

From the Bellary Dt. Gazetteer we learn that in the 2nd cy. A. D. it formed part of the kingdom of the Satavahanas who ruled from Dhanyakataka. In chp. II p 27 of the Gazetteer it is said: “the next link in the chain is the finding, again in the neighbourhood of Mysore of an inscription of one of the kings of

a branch of the Andhra or Satavahana dynasty (Haritiputra Satakarni) and of some coins, of which one bore the name of the ruler (Pulumayi) of the main branch of that line. Both of these kings belonged to about 2nd cy. A. D. and we thus have proof that at that time the Andhras whose capital was on the krishna river at Dhanyakataka, the present Amaravati — and who like Mauryas were Buddhists, **were ruling the district.**”

Again, The Mannual of the Kurnool Dt. says (p. 19) :—

“Nanda or Nandana (who settled Brahmins in the district from N. India) was the son of Uttunga Bhoja of the Pandava race who, having been expelled from Rajahmundry, by an invasion from the North, fled to the country about Vennar (Pennar?) in the south of which he was elected Raja ”. The Nandavaram in which he settled these Brahmins is now in the Banganapalli State on the confines of the Nandyal Taluq. Thus this district formed part of the dominion of that king, evidently an Andhra of Pre-Chalukya time.

Note (7) Pt. II p. 13.— Anuloma and Viloma marriages among “Raja Niyuktas” of early times :—

- (1) Kalivishnuvardhana (chalukya) son of Vijayaditya II married Silamahadevi, daughter of **Rashtrakuta**, Govinda III.
- (2) From Srinatha's Kasikhandam we learn that from the grand-daughter of Anavema, named Vemamba was the daughter of **Bhimalinga Choda**, to whom Anavema gave his daughter. This lady was in turn married to Allada Reddi. This established marriage relationships between Telugu Chodas who call themselves Kasyapa Kshatriyas of Surya Vamsa. These Reddis claim to be the same as Rashtrakutas.

T he question whether these marriages accord with apasthambiya smriti or other

texts is a point open to research. (Vide Reddikula Nirnayachandrika).

Note (8) Pt. II p. 14.— Epigraphical reference to Saptasantana view :—
Vide Ep. Ind. Vol. VI p. 119.

పుత్రార్థు తటాజీససదవ బ్రిహ్మప్రతిష్ఠానిధి
కాశ్యంచేచు పరత్రస్యాభ్యజనకా స్పంతాన
కాస్సప్రతాక
ప్రాణ ఖండాతిగ రిక్తపునా నాసేషుకితాచలం
శ్రీకప్ప షీతపాలమార్చి సచివః శ్రీసార్వతిష్ఠుప్రథమః॥

(Mangalagiri Pillar inscription of the time of Krishnaraya of Vizianagram.)

Note (9) p. 19.— A Draksharama Insn. of S. 1070 mentions **Mahamandalika** Kata-manayaka.

Note (10) p. 19.— The Sahini Maharajas of Kakatiya kingdom :—

“The Kakatiya generals and ministers of the **Sahini Vamsa** ruled over a Province covered by Cuddapah, Kurnool, Bellary, Anantapur, Nellore and Guntur Dists. ” In the Telugu Country of the East Coast they are called **Sishtukaranams** and were **Patros**, generals and ministers, under some Oriya rulers in Kalinga also. They almost usurped the sovereignty of the Kakatiyas in the last days and styled themselves 'Maharajas.'

Further examples of Sudra generals from Coast Districts also may be mentioned :

- (i) Masulipatam Plates of Amma I (AD.918-25) mention a sudra general **Mahakala** the son of a foster-sister of the King's grand-father Chalukya **Bhima I**.
- (ii) Chellur Plates of E. Chalukya Kulottunga II mention in S. 1056, his **Dandanayaka** Katamanayaka of Kolanu. Perhaps this is the person referred to in Draksharama Inscript. of S 1070 as **Mahamandalika** **Katama Nayaka**.

(Continued on page 25)

German Law And Legislation

CRIME AND PUNISHMENT

BY

Dr. Erich Schinnerer
 (University of Berlin)

(continued from the previous issue)

In no field of German law was the desire for reform and for a revision of the existing code so strong as in the field of criminal law. As far back as 1900 the Congress of German Jurists had stated that the reform of the criminal code was one of the most urgent tasks which legislators had to fulfil. From 1909 to 1927 no less than five drafts were published; but the work remained nevertheless uncompleted. This continual discussion of reform and search for a solution led to a regrettable weakening in the position of the judiciary and made the combatting of crime more difficult. For this reason we were compelled to direct our attention first of all to the reform of the criminal code which, more than any other part of the law, expresses the political attitude of the nation. In Autumn 1933 the Reich Minister of Justice, acting on behalf of the Führer, appointed a Commission for the drawing up of a criminal code; and this commission, after three years' work, completed a draft which has now been presented to the Reich Government for its consideration and approval. The draft itself has indeed not yet been made known in all its details, but the reports published about it have attracted considerable attention. Detailed opinions have been expressed on it, so that the underlying ideas are now generally known. The public discussion of the plans in the draft has done much to clarify people's ideas on the subject, so that the ground has been well prepared for the reception of the new law.

The plans of reform have already been anticipated by two Acts the consideration of which will enable us to get an idea of the present position of criminal law. Both are quite at variance with the principles on

which criminal laws have been based hitherto. The latter sought not only to protect society, but also to protect the criminal against the arbitrary actions of society. The two new laws seek simply to protect society against every sort of criminal attack. The task of the criminal code must not be to safeguard the law-breakers but only to contribute towards the preservation and safeguarding of the people and to combat those asocial elements which seek either to avoid their duties towards the community as a whole, or to offend against the interests of the people (Hitler, January 30, 1937). Above persons and things stands the community of the people and any breach of loyalty is a legal offence. The interpretation of the statutes according to the mere letter of the law had therefore to be abolished. The Supplementary Law of June 28, 1935, lays down that a punishment may be inflicted not only when the law prescribes it, but also when a sound sense of justice requires punishment for the act committed, and when the fundamental idea underlying a paragraph of the criminal code is applicable to such an act. Hitherto criminal law had compelled the judge to keep closely to the letter of the law. He had to do this because apart from the existing statutes no law was recognized. A judgment, therefore, which was not based on a strict interpretation of the words of a law necessarily appeared arbitrary. If, like National Socialism, one does not limit the law to the written statutes, one must admit that there may be cases not specified in the statute which are in effect just as criminal as acts enumerated therein and therefore ought to be punished.

The Supplementary Act of June 28, 1935, does not state that judgment should

be based on the subjective feeling of the judge. It requires the latter to take account of the people's sense of justice and then to decide according to an objective standard—the root principles of the particular paragraph of the criminal code—whether actions similar to those punishable in the law have been committed. Only if such is the case he may inflict punishment, and this punishment must be such as is prescribed by the law. The judge is thus bound by the law; for every law represents a political decision of the Country's leaders, the judge having therefore only that amount of freedom which the law specifically allows. The law does not regard the people's sense of justice as being merely any particular view of law held by the masses, but rather as the sound and dispassionate judgment of the average citizen. The judge must therefore in future base his judgments on the law of the German People.

With this supplementary law the well-known principle that only those crimes can be punished which are exactly described in the law (*nullum crimen sine lege*) has been abandoned. This principle has been described as one of the foundations of criminal law in all States with European civilization, and for this reason it was also included in the Weimar Constitution. The study of comparative law reveals, however, that this view is incorrect. By "lege" we understand only statutory law and not judicial decisions and prescriptive law, however generally recognized the latter may be. In Great Britain most of the criminal law has been revised and regulated by statutes. But homicide is still subject to Common Law. However strictly statutory law may be interpreted the principle "*nullum crimen sine lege*" cannot be maintained here. Apart from this the English Statutes, through the variety of their language and the rules of interpretation contained in them, give the judge an amount of freedom quite unknown in the German courts. But prescriptive law exists outside the United Kingdom, as for instance in three Swiss Cantons. In Denmark the criminal code goes so far as to admit the application of the law to

cases analogous to those specified therein. In Norway, Sweden, and Finland this manner of interpretation is indeed not explicitly permitted by the law, but in practice the analogy principle is applied in many important cases. It must, however, be admitted that the unrestricted use of analogy would open the way to all sorts of interpretation, so the judges themselves might finally evolve a law which would be remote from the life of the people and opposed that popular sense of justice which should be the source of all unwritten law. For this reason German law provides for a combination of root principles contained in the written law and the popular sense of justice, so that these two factors may correct each other. A number of the Federal States of North America have also included in their Criminal Codes the provision that the application of the law must not be restricted to a literal interpretation, but must take account of the basic ideas of the law. The Criminal Code of the State of New York contains, in Article 675, the provision that anyone who commits acts against the person or property of another, who disturbs the peace or the public health, or offends against decency, may be punished, although the act be not included in the written catalogue of punishable acts. The claim that the administration of public law in all civilized states demands strict interpretation of the law and forbids analogy cannot be maintained. Even in those countries where this rule is to be found a law may be so loosely drafted or a crime so widely defined that in practice the judge is given complete freedom to decide as to what acts the law applies. Thus when the Supreme Court of Switzerland asserts that a person can only be prosecuted if he infringes some law there is no doubt that what is meant is that no other punishment may be inflicted but what is prescribed in the law. But this principle does not mean that those who draw up a law are compelled to give a detailed list of all offences which might be punishable under that law. They are, on the contrary, at liberty to substitute technical names for groups of crimes or to use some general conception of crime. Thus in the application of a statutory law the conception of larceny

may be interpreted by the judge according to his own views of law. This practice too is provided for in the Supplementary Law of June 28, 1935. But it has to be stated that the departure from the principle *nullum crimen sine lege*, does not mean abandonment of *nulla poena sine lege*. Only such kinds of punishments can be inflicted which are known to the code.

The purpose of criminal law is to defend the community against all that may endanger it and therefore the Supplementary Law of November 24, 1933, contains provisions to combat habitual crime, and measures to safeguard the public. Formerly the criminal had to be released after he had served his sentence, even when it could be foreseen that his asocial disposition would lead him to abuse his liberty by committing further acts against the social order. How often did the unhappy mother of murdered children or violated girls ask the Court if it was really necessary to set the criminal free again to attack unfortunate creatures and inflict serious injury on the community. But this law enables the judge to sentence dangerous habitual criminals to a severer punishment than is prescribed for normal cases. The extent to which the punishment may be increased is stated in the Supplementary Law itself. A dangerous habitual criminal is a person who repeatedly—generally speaking, three times—commits an offence, and who shows from the general circumstances of the cases, that he not only habitually commits crimes but that he is, for the future as well as the present, a danger to society. These provisions therefore refer only to serious crimes, and not to such misconduct as habitual begging etc. Apart from increasing the punishment, the law prescribes preventive detention as a final means of protecting the public. This is not considered a penal measure. The crime itself is punished by imprisonment, but if that is not sufficient to protect the community for the future the criminal is interned in order to keep him from doing further harm. This internment lasts until the criminal is no longer held to be a danger to society, and a periodical examination ensures that the term is not extended beyond what is necessary. A

further protective measure is the castration of dangerous habitual sex criminals, a measure which exists also in certain North American States and in Denmark. This is indeed a permanent and serious interference with a bodily integrity of the criminal, but it makes it possible to preserve him from a complete loss of freedom or long internment. By means of this operation the urge to commit sexual offences is at any rate so weakened that it no longer represents a source of danger. The law also makes it possible to have a criminal transferred to a home for inebiates or to a labour settlement, if there is a prospect of educative methods being successful in combating the criminal tendency. In the same way the Law provides that, in cases where the Court is bound to acquit the accused on account of insanity, it may order the accused to be kept in an asylum or home. The success of these measures for dealing with criminals is shown by the following figures: The year 1935 showed, in comparison to 1932, the following reduction in crime: Homicide 33.9%, robbery with violence 64.2%, arson 22.8%. (The reduction in the figures for larceny cannot be given as a basis for comparison since they have been affected by a number of amnesty laws.) Those who have had any experience of practical work in connection with the fight against crime can bear witness to the deterrent effect which these measures have on habitual criminals. The Supplementary Law of June 25, 1935, also contains a provision which, based on the idea of the national community, makes it obligatory on every individual citizen to render assistance in an emergency. Anyone who does not assist in cases of general emergency or accidents, although he was in a position to do so without endangering his own person, is liable to punishment.

Although these two supplementary laws have perhaps anticipated the most vital measures in the new Criminal Code, the latter will nevertheless contain so many innovations that we must give a short account of it here. The new code is above all a further step on the way towards the establishment of a pure principle of guilt. In doing so it takes account not only of

the psychological connection between the criminal and his crime, but also ethical considerations. In future criminal law will hold that for guilt to be established it is necessary not only to demonstrate that the criminal knew what the results of a crime would be and intentionally agreed to them, or that offence was brought about through a lack of reasonable care. It will be necessary to show also that the offender knew, or might have known, that he was doing wrong. A person may commit an act which has only just been made an offence by a newly promulgated law, or the circumstances may be so complicated that this may be a reason why he could not know he was doing wrong. It has always been considered unfair that such a person should be punished merely because he was conscious of what he was doing at the time of the offence. Thus an old woman of German nationality who moved from Switzerland in order to settle down in Germany and knew nothing of the foreign exchange regulations was condemned for not having registered a small foreign account, although there was no doubt as to her ignorance of the legal regulations. Since the jurisprudence of the future will regard crime not merely as an offence against the explicit provisions of the law, but also as an attack on the community, as an act directed against the life of the nation, it will be necessary to take into account whether an offender himself recognized, or could have recognized, this aspect of his offence. Judges will indeed have to investigate very carefully the offender's claim that he was unconscious of having done wrong, and the claim will certainly not be allowed if it refers to acts which do not accord with the fundamental views of the nation on right or wrong. The claim that a criminal did not know that stealing and murder are forbidden will obviously not be entertained, but in the above mentioned case of the old lady the accused would be acquitted, which would only be in harmony with sound ideas of justice. The demand that the punishment of an offender requires not only that the latter knew what he was doing, but also that he knew he was doing wrong, represents an important departure from the doctrine

of guilt as incorporated in the criminal law of all European States. It means in fact that in criminal law justice and ethics are no longer fundamentally separate. If we realize that the individual no longer exists apart from the community, and therefore can no longer have a distinct, and perhaps different ethical code, but is, as member of the community, the representative of its ethical views, then we must admit that this change in the conception of criminal guilt follows inevitably. Attempted crime will also be treated differently. According to the law existing hitherto, this was punished only in reference to serious crimes and then to a lesser degree than for the crime actually committed. An attempt is distinguished from a crime actually committed by the fact that the purpose of the crime has not been completely attained. Since the coming criminal law concentrates on the intention to commit a crime it must punish any attempt to do so and only admits a mitigation of penalty when the non-accomplishment of crime can be shown to be due to a low intensity of will on the part of the criminal.

The second part of the draft, which describes the separate penal offences, has also been extended to an important degree. The grouping has been carried out according to the importance of the object of the criminal act. First and foremost comes the protection of the people against crimes of treason, then comes the protection of national resources, of the nation's life (race and heredity, defensive power, labour power, national health), of the moral and spiritual ideals of the people (marriage and the family, morality and religious beliefs, respect for the dead, protection of animals), of commerce and national property, and further the maintenance of national institutions and order (leadership of the people, public order, justice) and the maintenance of honesty (offences against good faith, property, and criminal self-interest). In working out this new criminal law it was possible to draw on the results of decades of work done by learned jurists. But the fundamental provisions of former supplementary laws have also been incorporated in order to assure the uniformity of criminal law.

One of the most important parts of the new criminal code are the rules concerning penalties and the assessment of the penalties for each particular law. There has been no important change in the method of punishment. The future criminal law will also contain the death penalty, penal servitude and imprisonment. It provides, in addition, for fines, but makes these dependent on the financial circumstances of the individual, the daily income of the offender being taken as a basis for calculation. Penal arrest is abandoned. Imprisonment in a fortress as 'custodia honesta' is maintained. In laying down the separate penalties care has been taken in regard to punishments of extreme severity, such as the death penalty, to provide the alternative of penal servitude, so that the judge himself may have the possibility of commuting the death penalty in cases where the degree of culpability may not equal the objective wickedness of the crime. Above all the punishment inflicted in each individual case must depend on the actual guilt of the offender. In meting out punishment the judge must take into account the criminal intent, in cases of negligence the degree of carelessness and the indifference of the offender as regards the outcome of his offence, also the necessity of safeguarding the community, and the danger and injury caused by the offender, as well as his behaviour after the offence. Thus the law aims at imposing penalties which will correspond to each

crime viewed as a whole, for only then can criminal law be an effective weapon for the protection of society. It is not intended to introduce the punishment of flogging, for the effects of this punishment in other countries have not been such as to recommend its use.

The recasting of criminal law will also lead to new rules for the trial of criminal cases. The great emphasis laid on the community in criminal law will imply an extensive participation of the lay element in the administration of justice. The preliminary proceedings, which aim at clearing up the facts of the crime, will be placed in the hands of the Public Prosecutor. In important points he will have to co-operate with a judge. In the main trial the judge, who independently administers justice in the name of the people, is entirely free from the influence of the public prosecutor, both as regards the conduct of the trial and the handling of the case. The establishment of special courts for individual groups of crime which are specially important and delicate, e.g. political offences, will be maintained as permanent institutions, since their utility has been proved. A special degree and a special kind of expert knowledge is required in dealing with these crimes, so that they can only be entrusted to judges trained in this special sphere. But work on the rules for the conduct of trials has only just begun, so that it is not as yet possible to say anything final on this subject.

(To be continued)

(Continued from page 24.)

- (iii) A Telugu Insn. at Bapatla (175 of 1937) mentions a Vaisya Senapati Kannisetti, the general of Velanati Gonka II (s. 1071)
- (iv) The Copper Plate grant of Mangi Yuvaraja of A. D. 673 mentions "Naiyogikas" to mean officers or "Rajaniyuktakas" of other grants.

Note (11) page 22—Nandavarika Brahmans were originally Srotriyas from N. India who came south on account of famine. But by dint of their capacity and achievement they rose to positions of Political Responsibility. We find a similar occurrence in the case of Somayajula Rudra Deva, a Velanati Srotriya Brahman who became a general of Kumara Rudra

Deva Maharajah who ruled between A.D. 1291—1323 (548 of 1909 of saka 1213) : Here is mention of one such family from Nandavarikas of Rayalaseema :—

క॥ సంకుచిత మౌకామవతా

పాంక్రారుడ మాడియ మగ్రివాన్యయుడన్

ప్రంకట రమణాంకుడ ని

ప్రంకిల సందవరవంశ పరిగణికుండన్॥

ఇ॥ ఆత్మయస్తి గ రి తంబము వంచాఖ్యాయి కావ్రు సంబాత్ముంగోరు లేదుగాని కృతరాజుస్తాను లేది నాయాత్మీయుల్ నరాదేవ సంఘటిత దుర్మాధ్యాక్షాదక్తుల త్యాగ్తో ప్రముఖ ప్రభిభాపరాకృత భుజంగాధ్యకులం జే నాగెన్॥

(కాఫరోపాఖ్యానము. మాడియం ప్రంకటరమవక్రి) of Srivatsa Gotram, Rik sakha

The New Pledge

By Mr. M. V. V. K. Rangachari, Cocanada.

It is nice to talk of Independence, but the proverbial advice to give the decision without giving out the grounds therefor holds better. No-body here needs to be told about British injustice, political and economic, towards India. It is history. Nationalist propaganda had given sufficient attention to it in the past. The present is more relevant. We cannot rid ourselves of the capital burden or the sterling debt. British and foreign investments cling to us and political relation goes with economic subservience. Whatever be the influence socially, culturally or philosophically, can we extricate ourselves from the British hold and attain an isolationist independence even now? Life implies an average equipment, a standard of comfort, and a measure of the decencies of living. Is that average, the standard and measure unrelated to the rest of the world, in regard to any country? The slogan of absolute isolates needs to be revised in terms of inter-dependence. We may not disconnect ourselves in the frenzy of past memories, but find our place under the living sun.

The convulsing struggles of Europe set thoughtful minds on "Federal Union". The inspiration of this Movement is largely American. The first extensive statement is Mr. Clarence Strait's book: 'Union Now.' All shades of political opinion, totalitarians excepted, support the idea that "all nations should give up a great proportion of their independent sovereignty receiving in return the benefits of belonging to a union of nations without tariff barriers or exchange restrictions." The Penguin Special by Mr. W. B. Curry of the Conway-Hall fame just published under the title 'The Case for Federal Union' should set the pace for our aspiration on independent lines (see Literary Guide, London, January, 1940, p. 29).

Next as to the means. "The more the Gandhian way recedes from terrestrial

conditions, the more will it degenerate into philosophic theory." The further the departure from general practice, the greater the breach in concrete life. The

cleavege between the real and the ideal confronts the programme at the next door. To prevent the break, discipline will become more stringent. But there is no greater demoralising agent than coercive discipline. It brings about theoretic allegiance, professional compliance, insincerity and evasion. It is the greatest social danger. The social direction should not be put beyond the reach of the decent worldling." These words (The Twilight Quest, p 60) would appear amply justified in recent Congress History, despite liberty given to express dissent in the Working Committee resolution. The faith in the Gandhian means prevents the campaign against the property-relations that brought on slavery. It shrinks from touching the productive methods on which capitalist science is based and the prestige it enjoys. While the Gandhian Sociology will itself create the conditions when it will no longer be possible to retain these economic relations intact, the pledge insists that no change shall be made in the method or the means. And that until the goal is reached. This rigid formula leaves one cold, since the adoption of means to ends is an ever shifting process, in politics as is all life. While the objective itself, as has been pointed out above, is capable of modified statements, depending on world-conditions, we cannot fix up once for all, unless regardless of life, the way of our movement. The roads to salvation are many even as our ideas about it undergo change. We cannot mortgage human biology to a single ingredient of our diet, howsoever wholesome to the physician.

There is the further dialectical antithesis in the creed. As Ernest Thurtle M. P. writes (Literary Guide, Jan, 1940, p. 3) "there are times when force, punitive force has to be used to restrain those who break the laws." The method of reason, pacific persuasion, has force to be abandoned and the use of the weapon of coercive

force is justified by the "larger reason involved in the need for preserving order and decency" in the community, in the nation, or in international life. A supreme international body, if it had the power, would be justified in applying coercive force against the offending nation. In default of such world-power to apply the restraining force to the menace, it falls to the lot of particular peoples to do so.

As Thurtle argues, if we do not wish to surrender to force, we must curb it. "There is surely no disloyalty to reason in undertaking the task. Just as it takes two to make a quarrel, so does it take two to settle disputes by means of peaceful discussion. If one deliberately chooses armed force in preference to peaceful reasoning, the other is left with no alternative but meek surrender or retaliation in kind." Our means always depend, and are not absolute. The world's best peace-lovers could not evade war. It indicates the relativity of response, in national as in international movements.

The one tangible part of the pledge is spinning. The wheel is a material object. Its single defect is the woodenness. While massive metals sink or crash, while life is endangered under water, on land and in the air, our meagre contribution beyond verbal spinning is expected to centre around the Charkha. Even as the little mercy shown enabling us to express ourselves, this tiny producer may be the everlasting hope of our forlorn land. But there is the consolation that the best of the British memories centre around the Westminster Abbey, while the best of the present-day muscle is engaged in the Maginot front.

We are promised the status of the statute of the Westminister variety. Lokamanya Tilak taught us that Swaraj is our birthright. But he knew the secret of responsive co-operation. Led by the Mahatma we swear by unconditioned Independence. Whatever the rest of the world did or said, let us go the spinning way, paying homage to the Abbey, and greeting the vision awakened of a new Westminister.



(continued from page 32)

want to turn Germany into nothing but a military barracks and he would only do so if forced to do so; that once the Polish question was settled he himself would settle down; that he had no interest in making Britain break her word to Poland; that he had no wish to be small-minded in any settlement with Poland and that all he required for an agreement with her was a gesture from Britain to indicate that she would not be unreasonable.

After I had left, Herr von Ribbentrop sent Dr. Schmidt to the Embassy with text of verbal statement and also a message from him to the effect that Herr Hitler has always and still wished for an agreement with Britain and begging me to urge His Majesty's Government to take the offer very seriously."

LORD HALIFAX SUGGESTS NEUTRAL OBSERVERS AND EXCHANGE OF POPULATIONS

(August 25)

Sir Nevile Henderson's dispatch quoted above had been received at the Foreign Office at 7.0 P.M. At 11.0 that evening suggestions were sent to the Polish Government for the establishment of a corps of neutral observers, who would enter upon their functions if it were found possible to open negotiations. Lord Halifax later suggested the possibility of negotiating over an exchange of populations. M. Beck raised no objection in principle to either proposal.

(to be continued)

How Hitler made the War

The inner story as told in the Foreign Office
Telegrams and Documents abridged from the Blue
Book and from Sir Neville Henderson's Final Report.

(continued from the last issue)

LORD HALIFAX AT CHATHAM HOUSE

(June 29)

On June 16, Viscount Halifax again repeated to the German Ambassador in London that neither Great Britain nor any other Power was "encircling" Germany, and on June 29 he took the opportunity, in a speech at a dinner of the Royal Institute of International Affairs, Chatham House, to define at some length the attitude and policy of Great Britain.

"In the past," he said, "we have always stood out against the attempt by any single Power to dominate Europe at the expense of the liberties of other nations, and British policy is, therefore, only following the inevitable line of its own history, if such an attempt were to be made again."

"We are told that our motives are to isolate Germany within a ring of hostile States, to stifle her natural outlets, to cramp and throttle the very existence of a great nation. What are the facts? They are very simple and everybody knows them. Germany is isolating herself, and doing it most successfully and completely. She is isolating herself from other countries economically by her policy of autarky, politically by a policy that causes constant anxiety to other nations, and culturally by her policy of racialism. If you deliberately isolate yourself from others by your own actions you can blame nobody but yourself, and so long as this isolation continues, the inevitable consequences of it are bound to

become stronger and more marked. The last thing we desire is to see the individual German man, or woman, or child suffering privations; but if they do so, the fault does not lie with us, and it depends on the German Government and on the German Government alone, whether this process of isolation continues or not, for any day it can be ended by a policy of co-operation. It is well that this should be stated plainly so that there may be no misunderstanding here or elsewhere."

"British policy," the Foreign Secretary concluded, "rests on twin foundations of purpose. One is determination to resist force. The other is our recognition of the world's desire to get on with the constructive work of building peace. If we could once be satisfied that the intentions of others were the same as our ownthen, I say here definitely, we could discuss the problems that are to-day causing the world anxiety.....But that is not the position which we face to-day. The threat of military force is holding the world to ransom, and our immediate task is.....to resist aggression. I would emphasise that to-night with all the strength at my command, so that nobody may misunderstand it."

DETERIORATION IN THE SITUATION AT DANZIG

(June 3-July 3)

With the increase of agitation in the Reich the local situation at Danzig rapidly became worse. On June 3 the president of

the Danzig Senate made accusations against Polish customs inspectors. The Polish Government on June 10 replied with a denial of the accusations and a statement of the legal rights of Poland in relation to Danzig. On June 27 the Polish Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs told Sir H. Kennard, the British Ambassador in Warsaw, that a Freicorps was being formed in Danzig. Mr. Shepherd, the British Consul-General in Danzig, also reported upon military preparations in the city. On June 30, in view of the gravity of the situation, Viscount Halifax suggested consultation between the British, French and Polish Governments to prevent Hitler from manoeuvring the Polish Government into a position where they would appear as aggressors. Meanwhile, the Polish Government maintained a restrained attitude.

BRITISH ATTITUDE TOWARDS DANZIG

(July 10-15)

On July 10, while the situation at Danzig was becoming critical the Prime Minister defined the British attitude towards the Danzig problem in a statement in the House of Commons. He pointed out that it was before Poland had received any guarantee from Great Britain that the Polish Government, fearing to be faced with unilateral German action, had replied to the German proposals, by putting forward counter-proposals of their own. The cause of the Polish refusal to accept the German proposals was to be found in the character of these proposals and in the manner and timing of their presentation and not in the British guarantee of Poland.

On July 14 Sir Nevile Henderson discussed with Baron von Weizsäcker, German State Secretary at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, a statement by one of the German Under-Secretaries that "Herr Hitler was convinced that England would never fight over Danzig." Sir Nevile Henderson repeated the affirmation already made by the British Government that, in the event of German aggression, Great Britain would support Poland in resisting force by force.

ULL AT DANZIG

(July 19-August 2)

During July there was a temporary lull in the situation. The acting British Consul-General at Danzig reported on July 19 that Forster, the leader of the National Socialist party in Danzig, had stated, after an interview with Hitler, that "nothing will be done on the German side to provoke a conflict," and that the Danzig question could "wait if necessary until next year or even longer." Forster repeated this statement a week later. On July 21 Viscount Halifax instructed Mr. Norton, the British Charge'd Affaires at Warsaw, to impress upon the Polish Government the need for caution. M. Beck replied, on July 25, that the Polish Government were equally anxious for a *Detente*.

THE SITUATION AT DANZIG WORSENS AGAIN

(August 4-16)

On August 4, M. Beck told the British Charge'd Affaires at Warsaw that the Danzig Senate had that day informed Polish customs inspectors at four posts in Danzig that henceforward they would not be allowed to carry out their duties. The Polish Government took "a very serious view" of this step. Similar news came from Mr. Shepherd at Danzig. On August 9 Sir H. Kennard reported that the Polish attitude was "firm but studiously moderate."

A day later, Sir H. Kennard reported to the British Government a communication made by the German Government to the Polish Charge'd Affaires at Berlin on the Danzig question, and the Polish reply. M. Beck drew the attention of Sir H. Kennard to "the very serious nature of the German *Demarche* as it was the first time that the Reich had directly intervened in the dispute between Poland and the Danzig Senate." The Polish Government in their reply to the German *note verbale* stated that they would "react to any attempt by the authorities of the Free City which might

tend to compromise the rights and interests which Poland possesses there in virtue of her agreements, by employment of such means and measures as they alone shall think fit to adopt, and will consider any future intervention by German Government to detriment of these rights and interests as an act of aggression."

Sir Nevile Henderson on August 15 discussed with Baron von Weizsacker the deterioration in the Danzig position, and pointed out that if the Poles "were compelled by any act of Germany to resort to arms to defend themselves there was not a shadow of doubt that we would give them our full armed support.....Germany would be making a tragic mistake if she imagined the contrary." Baron von Weizsacker himself observed that "the situation in one respect was even worse than last year as Mr. Chamberlain could not again come out to Germany." Baron von Weizsacker also discounted the character of Russian help to Poland and thought "that the U. S. S. R. would even in the end join in sharing in the Polish spoils."

Meanwhile, on August 11, M. Burchkhardt, the League of Nations High Commissioner in Danzig had a conversation with Hitler at Berchtesgaden at the latter's request, in which the question of Danzig and the European situation was discussed.

Lord Halifax, who still hoped that Hitler might avoid war, advised the Polish Government to make it clear that they remained ready for negotiations over Danzig.

THE GERMAN MINORITY IN POLAND

Sir H. Kennard reported that the German press campaign about the persecution of the German minority in Poland was a "gross distortion and exaggeration of the facts." On August 26 Sir H. Kennard reported frontier incidents which had been provoked by the Germans. They had not caused the Poles to change their "calm and strong attitude of defence."

THE AUGUST CRISIS

MR. CHAMBERLAIN'S LETTER TO HITLER

(August 22)

On August 22, after the publication of the news of von Ribbentrop's visit to Moscow to sign a non-aggression pact with the U.S.S.R., the Prime Minister sent a personal letter to Hitler. Mr. Chamberlain once again gave a clear statement of the British obligations to Poland, and stated that 'Whatever may prove to be the nature of the German-Soviet Agreement, it cannot alter Great Britain's obligation.' He added that "It has been alleged that, if His Majesty's Government had made their position more clear in 1914, the great catastrophe would have been avoided. Whether or not there is any force in that allegation, His Majesty's Government are resolved that on this occasion there shall be

AN INTERVIEW WITH HITLER

(August 23)

On August 23 Sir Nevile Henderson reported his first interview with Hitler earlier in the day. Hitler was "excitable and uncompromising"; his language was "violent and exaggerated both as regards England and Poland."

"He began by asserting that the Polish question would have been settled on the most generous terms if it had not been for England's unwarranted support. I drew attention to the inaccuracies of this statement, our guarantee having been given on 31 March and Polish reply on 26th March. He retorted by saying that the latter had been inspired by a British press campaign, which had invented a German threat to Poland the week before. Germany had not moved a man any more than she had done during the similar fallacious press campaign about Czechoslovakia on the 20th May last year.

He then violently attacked the Poles, talked of 100,000 German refugees from Poland, excesses against Germans, closing of

German institutions and Polish systematic persecution of German nationals generally. He said that he was receiving hundreds of telegrams daily from his persecuted compatriots. He would stand it no longer, etc. I interrupted by remarking that while I did not wish to try to deny that persecutions occurred (of Poles also in Germany) the German press accounts were highly exaggerated. He had mentioned the castration of Germans. I happened to be aware of one case. The German in question was a sex-maniac, who has been treated as he deserved. Herr Hitler's retort was that there had not been one case, but six.

His next tirade was against British support of Czechs and Poles. He asserted that the former would have been independent to-day if England had not encouraged them in a policy hostile to Germany. He insinuated that the Poles would be to-morrow if Britain ceased to encourage them to-day. He followed this by a tirade against England, whose friendship he had sought for twenty years only to see every offer turned down with contempt. The British press was also vehemently abused. I contested every point and kept calling his statements inaccurate but the only effect was to launch him on some fresh tirade."

"At the end of this first conversation Herr Hitler observed, in reply to my repeated warnings that direct action by Germany would mean war, that Germany had nothing to lose and Great Britain much; that he did not desire war but would not shrink from it if it was necessary; and that his people were much more behind him than last September.

I replied that I hoped and was convinced that some solution was still possible without war and asked why contact with the Poles could not be renewed. Herr Hitler's retort was that, so long as England gave Poland a blank cheque, Polish unreasonableness would render any negotiation impossible. I denied the 'blank cheque' but this only started Herr Hitler off again and finally it was agreed

that he would send or hand me his reply in two hours' time."

Hitler was calmer at a second talk,—he "never raised his voice once,"—but no less uncompromising. He put the whole responsibility for war on Great Britain, and maintained that Great Britain was "determined to destroy and exterminate Germany. He was, he said, 50 years old; he preferred war now to when he would be 55 or 60." He said that "it was England who was fighting for lesser races, whereas he was fighting only for Germany."

The German reply to the Prime Minister's letter was given to the British Ambassador on August 23. Hitler stated that the British promise to assist Poland would make no difference to the determination of the Reich to safeguard German interests, and that the precautionary British military measures announced in the Prime Minister's letter of August 22 would be followed by the mobilisation of the German forces.

THE GERMAN-SOVIET NON-AGGRESSION PACT

(August 23)

On August 23 a 10-year Non-Aggression Pact was signed between Germany and Russia. They agreed not to attack one another; not to support a third Power that attacked the other and not to join any grouping of Powers directed directly or indirectly against the other; to keep in touch and consult together on questions touching their joint interests; and to clarify disputes or disagreements arising between them by friendly exchange of opinion or if necessary, by arbitration committees.

Speeches by Mr. Chamberlain and Lord Halifax on August 24 made plain the unshaken determination of Great Britain to honour British obligations to Poland.

FORSTER APPOINTED HEAD OF THE STATE OF THE FREE CITY OF DANZIG

(August 23)

Gauleiter Forster was declared by

decree of the Danzig Senate, on August 23, Head of the State (Staatsoberhaupt) of the Free City of Danzig. The Polish Government protested to the Senate against the illegality of this appointment.

WORLD APPEALS TO SAVE PEACE

During these last days of August appeals for peace and offers of mediation, by letter and by radio, were made by President Roosevelt, by the King of the Belgians in the name of the Heads of States of Belgium, Denmark, Finland, Holland, Luxembourg, Norway and Sweden, by the Queen of Holland, by the Pope, and by Signor Mussolini.

THE POLISH GOVERNMENT TRIES TO GET IN TOUCH WITH THE GERMAN GOVERNMENT

(August 24)

In view of the increasing tension in Danzig, M. Beck told Sir H. Kennard that he considered the situation "most grave," and that he had asked the Polish Ambassador in Berlin to seek an immediate interview with the German State Secretary. This interview could not, however, be arranged, since Baron von Weizsaecker was at Berchtesgaden, but the Polish Ambassador had an interview in the afternoon of August 24 with Goering. The field-marshall regretted that "his policy of maintaining friendly relations with Poland should have come to nought and admitted that he no longer had influence to do much in the matter." The field-marshall hinted that Poland should abandon her alliance with Great Britain, and left the Polish Government with the impression that Germany was aiming at a free hand in Eastern Europe.

THE ANGLO-POLISH AGREEMENT SIGNED

(August 25)

On August 25 the Anglo-Polish declaration of the previous May was converted into a 5-year Agreement of Mutual Assistance. The two Governments agreed

that if either of them became engaged in hostilities with a European Power which attacked them or forced them to defend their independence, the other would immediately give all the help it could on lines established by their naval, military and air authorities.

A GERMAN MESSAGE TO LONDON

(August 25)

On the morning of August 25 Hitler sent for Sir Nevile Henderson and asked him to fly to London to "put the case" to the British Government. The "case," which included an offer to friendship with Great Britain, once the Polish question had been solved, was contained in a "verbal communication" made to the British Ambassador. Hitler was "ready to pledge himself personally" for the "continued existence" of the British Empire if his colonial demands were also fulfilled. During the interview Hitler "was absolutely calm and normal and spoke with great earnestness and apparent sincerity."

Sir Nevile Henderson stated once more that Great Britain "could not go back on her word to Poland" and would insist on a settlement by negotiation. Hitler refused to guarantee a negotiated settlement on the ground that "Polish provocation might at any moment render German intervention to protect German nationals inevitable." He said, "If you think it useless then do not send my offer at all."

The only signs of excitement on Hitler's part were when he referred to Polish persecutions. He said that the Poles fired at German aeroplanes and that there had been another case of castration.

"Among various points mentioned by Herr Hitler were: that the only winner of another European war would be Japan; that he was by nature an artist not a politician, and that once the Polish question was settled he would end his life as an artist and not as a war monger; he did not

(continued on page 27)

The Hindu Moslem Civilisation of India

The following excerpts culled by Mr. D. V. SIVARAO are of topical interest as they answer many a question relating to the Hindu Moslem problem; especially the claim made by some Mussalmans that they are a race and a nation distinct from the Hindus. Ed. I. M.

"All who believe in one God and acknowledge the Holy Prophet are true believers. The fundamental principles of Islam are few and simple. Islam knows no castes and ought not to have divisions and sub-divisions. Yet we find Islam divided into sects and innumerable divisions. This is certainly against the spirit of Islam. All true believers are equal. By Mussalman Law they can all eat with each other, nay more, they can eat with the followers of the Great Prophets on whom revelation has descended. All Mussalmans can intermarry, nay more, Mussalman males can marry females from the followers of the Great Prophets. Yet the different sects of Indian Mussalmans will not intermarry even among themselves. It is the duty of all true believers to educate themselves, their wives and sons and their daughters so as to enable them to know God aright, yet ignorance is the prevailing rule amongst Indian Mussulmans."

—The Hon. M. SAYANI.

The Hon. Mr. M. Sayani in his presidential address of the Calcutta Congress in 1896 observed as follows:—

"Before the advent of the British, the Mussalmans had all the advantages, appertaining to the ruling classes. The Sovereigns and the Chiefs were their Co-religionists and so were the great land-lords and great officials. The court language was their own. Every place of trust and responsibility and carrying influence and high emoluments was by birth-right theirs. The Hindus did occupy some positions but they were tenants-at-will of the Mussalmans.

By a stroke of misfortune the Mussalmans had to abdicate their position and

descend to the level of their fellow Hindu Countrymen. The Hindus who had stood in awe of their Mussalman masters were thus raised a step by the fall of their masters, with their former awe dropped their courtesy also. The Mussalmans who are a very sensitive race naturally resented the treatment and would have nothing to do with either their rulers or with their fellow subjects. Meanwhile the English education was introduced by the rulers and entirely turned the tables."

Sir W. W. Hunter has given a vivid account of this historical retrospect:—

"In the last century Mussalman collectors gathered the Company's land-tax in Bengal. Mussalman Fouzdars and Ghatwals officered its police. A great Mussalman Department, with its head quarters in the Nawab Nizam's palace at Murshidabad, and a network of Mussalman officials over every district in lower Bengal, administered the Criminal Law. Mussalman jailors kept ward over the prison population of Northern India; Kazis or Mohammedan Doctors of Law presided in the Civil and domestic Courts. When the Company first attempted to administer Justice by means of trained English officers in its Bengal possessions, the Mohammedan Law Doctors still sat with them as their authoritative advisers on points of law. The Code of Islam remained for many purposes the Law of the land; and the ministerial and subordinate officers of Govt. continued to be the almost hereditary property of the Mussalmans. But with the introduction of English Education "The Hindus began to pour into every grade of official life; and the State System of education in 1854 completed the revolution." Teaching

disappeared everywhere even in the mosques..... The Mussalmans lost all ground..... It became apparent that western instruction was producing not only a redistribution of employment but also an upheaval of races.

Learning of a foreign language required hard application and industry. The Hindus were accustomed to this even under the Mussalmans. The Mussalmans lost political power and were gradually ousted from their lands, and their offices. They kept themselves aloof from anything that brings them into contact with the Hindus (viz. education). They were soon reduced to a state of utter poverty and ignorance."

Bishop Heber who travelled extensively in India wrote as follows on 10-1-1824 *

"They (the Mohammedans) are in personal appearance a finer race than the Hindoos ; they are also more universally educated and on the whole I think a better people in as much as their faith is better. They are haughty and irascible, hostile to the English as those who have supplanted them in their sovereignty over the country, and notoriously oppressive and avaricious in their dealings with their idolatrous countrymen wherever they are yet in authority. They are, or supposed to be more honest and to each other they are not uncharitable, but they are, I fear less likely, at present than the Hindoos to embrace Christianity though some of them read our Scriptures. They have however contracted in this country many superstitions of castes and images for which their western brethren the Turks and Arabs are ready to excommunicate them and what is more strange, many of them, equally in opposition to their own religion and that of the Hindoos are exceeding drunkards."

Islam and India: † "Under the influence of Indian and Persian Scholars the primitive philosophy of the Quoran had been expanded into the mystical interpretations of the

Sufi School by which the poetry of Islam became a lyrical version of the Vedanta. After the fall of the Ommayad Dynasty the Persians became the intellectual leaders of Islam in Asia with the Arabs and Turks as their disciples. (Ibid P. 280)

Even by the time of Allauddin, the typical Muslim came to regard India as his spiritual home and to make Islam in India the highest expression of a great world-religion. The process had already begun when the doctors of Islam under Harun-al-Raschid began to expand the primitive doctrine of Islam by the study of Indian religious thought. It was continued when the Arabs gained a firm footing in Aryavartha and again when Mahmud of Ghazni filled the harems of the Mussalman world with Indian women and sent thousands of Indian craftsmen forth to make their religion serve the material as well as the spiritual needs of Islam in Western Asia. The Indian craftsman was always a religious teacher, and the foundations of the belief were not shaken when he took a Muslim name and invoked the deity as Allah instead of Ishvara. The final conquest of Hindusthan brought the baser elements of Islam into close contact with Indian civilisation. But even while India lay prostrate and bleeding under the oppressor's foot the Indian ideal was slowly permeating the social and spiritual life of the Mohammedan conquerors and Islam was adjusting its dogmas to the Indian religious synthesis. (Ibid P. 307-308)

The psychological effect of the Mohammedan conquest: The sword of Islam was the Creator's pruning knife which removed the decaying branches and cut back the unfruitful growth of the tree of knowledge he had planted in Aryavartha.

The first effect of the Mohammedan invasions and break-up of many ancient seats of Brahmanical learning was therefore a great impetus to Aryan Culture in the Deccan and Southern India, a rush of learned Brahmins and skilled Craftsmen

* Bishop Heber's Journal Vol III. P. 266.

† E. B. Havell's Aryan Rule in India, Pp. 280—406.

to the friendly shelter of the Chola and Rastrakuta courts or those of their tributaries (Ibid. P. 325)

Impact of Hinduism upon Islam and vice-versa: After the Mohanmedian conquest, especially after the 14th century onward, when independent dynasties mostly of Indian descent, began to set themselves up in the more distant provinces of the Delhi Empire, from that time the craftsmen of these Indo-Mohammedan courts began to revive the finest traditions of Hindu culture in their wonderful mosques, palaces, public gardens, wells, bathing places and irrigation works, consecrated as of old to the service of one God whom Brahmins worshipped as Ishwara or Narain, Mohammedans as Allah. Each of the Mohammedan cities of Ahamadabad, Gaur, Jaunpur, Mandu, Bijapur developed distinctive types of building derived from the local characteristics of the parent Hindu cities. The Saracenic architecture is only a new development of Indo-Aryan culture.

During the process of development, Islam in India was in a state of almost complete isolation spiritually, intellectually from the rest of the Mohammedan world (Ibid. Pp. 330-331.)

The dividing line between a follower of Zoraster and a Persian Shia or between an Orthodox Hindu and an Indian Shia was more a question of ritual than of esoteric religious doctrine.

The Shia was a philosopher, the Sunni a dogmatist. The Sufism of Persian Mussulmans was a development of Shia philosophy. The Sunnis had no desire to go beyond a literal interpretation of the law.

Persian Mussulmans were mostly Shias; likewise Hindus of the higher castes, when they embraced Islam.

The Sunni faction in the Muslim courts recruited by constant influx of foreign rulers and military adventurers—Arabs, Abyssinians, Turks and others—helped to keep alive the fierce sectarian and racial rancour of the first Mohammedan

invasions. The Sunnis referred contemptuously to Indian Shias and to the Moghul mercenaries of the same sect as 'foreigners and new Mussulmans' implying thereby they were heathens and heretics (Ibid. p. 333)

Many Hindu and Jaina teachers both before and after the Mohammedan invasions had condemned the ritualistic use of images as contrary to the true spirit of Vedic Philosophy. Probably it was with the object of reconciling Indo-Aryan religion with Islam that Jaideva in the thirteenth century and Ramanand in the fourteenth were as emphatic as the Mullas in denouncing idolatry. Chaitanya's mission would not have been so indulgently regarded by Mohammedan officials if he had not avoided giving offence on this point. Kabir, the Hindu weaver was so strong in his protest against image-worship that Mohammedans disputed with Hindus for the honour of performing his funeral rites. Nanak, the first guru of the Sikhs taught the vanity of image-worship; the tenth guru, Govind Singh absolutely prohibited it. (Ibid. P. 342.)

In the fifteenth century there was thus a tendency among the Indian Mohammedans towards a better understanding with their Hindu neighbours in religious questions—a movement strongly supported by Hussain Shah and other Mussulman rulers and encouraged by Hindu teachers such as Kabir, Chaitanya and Ramanand. (Ibid. P. 380)

In both communities there were men of the highest religious ideals, but the facts disclosed by Mohammedan historians show that the differences between them were sociological and political rather than religious. Islam was an individualistic cult and especially a protest against the restraints which an older and more developed civilisation—in the interest of the whole community—placed upon individual liberty. In theory at least all men within the fold of Islam were equal. But the doctrine of might is right prevailed in practice. It took away from the community its liberty and right of self-Government. The Hindu political system built upon the bed rock of

the free village community was essentially an imperial democracy. (Ibid P. 404.5)

The Mussulman political creed increased the rigour of the caste system and aroused a revolt against it. It held out alluring prospects to the lower strata of Hindu Society, Islam was like the Renaissance of Europe, a city-cult. It made the nomad leave his tent and sudra abandon the village, but it left the heart of India and the village unchanged." (Ibid.P.405-6).

Islam in India *

"Islam represents to the low caste what the Buddhist orders once represented—a perfect democracy in which stains of birth, of blood, of occupation are all blotted out by the utterance of the formula of fraternity. There is no God but God and Mohamed is his prophet.

The word Shaik prefixed to the name indicates that he comes of a family so adopted by conversion. The vast majority of Mohammedan cultivators, boatmen, and builders of India are thus Hindu by blood and Moslem by creed. The Gods of the old faith become the Saints or "Pirs" of the new. They pray at their tombs to the dead as well as for them and are regarded indulgently by the orthodox and learned of the new faith as illiterate and therefore superstitious.

The puritan side of Islam finds expression in the Sunni sect, and the ornate aspect in the Shia. It is the Shias who commemorate the Caliph Ali and the deaths of Hassan and Hussain. They carry the tombs of the martyrs in procession at the Muharram, and whenever they are bereaved they mourn for the family of Ali instead of for their own. Geographically the Shias are Persian and in India are most numerous in Bengal and round Lucknow.† The sterner and narrower faith of Sunnism formed the royal faith of Delhi and Hyderabad.

The influence of the Indian environment is felt further in many social developments of Islamic Community. It is not unnatural that there should be a great aptitude for the formation of castes, and a stern refusal to break bread with those who are not of the chosen group. In other directions also there is approximation to custom. Many Mussulman families in Bengal would turn with horror from eating beef. The wife insists that her own hands and no others should cook the food eaten by the husband. The re-marriage of widows is discomfited by the highest standards of taste, and in the royal family of Delhi the life of a widowed princess was spent exactly like that of a Hindu woman who had lost her husband: in austerity, prayer and study. Finally that hymn to the Ganges which is among the first things learnt by a Hindu child was written three or four centuries ago by a Mussalman.

On its divine side - ignoring those dim reaches of Sufism which only saints attain, Islam stands in India as another name for Bhakti or the melting love of God. In the songs of the people the Hindu name of Hari and the Mohammedan name of Allah are inextricably blended, and as one listens to the boatmen singing while they mend their nets, one cannot distinguish the hymn from the poem of love."

Islam and Hinduism—Unity of Indian Life

"In devotion to the mother, and in chivalry for old age, Mohammedan and Hindu, high and low, in India are absolutely at one. It is a mistake to suppose that even the religious demarcation between Hinduism and Islam has the bitterness that divides for instance Geneva from Rome. Sufism with its roll of saints and Martyrs, contributes to Mohammedans a phase of development which matches Hinduism in its highest forms. The apostles of either faith are recognisable by the other. The real divergence between the two religions lies rather in the body

* (The Web of Indian Life By Sister Nivedita (P. 233.)

† Some twenty millions (Now 3crores) of Indian Mussalmans are Shias. Shiism is also the State religion of Persia. There are large numbers of Shias in Hijaz in Egypt and other parts of the world but always in a minority. 'Islam' - By Ameer Ali Syed.

of associated customs, than in doctrines which are not philosophically incomprehensible. The Mohammedan derives his customs from Arabia and from a period in which the merging of many tribes in a national unity was the great need: the Hindu bases his habits on his own past and on the necessity of preserving a higher civilization from modification by lower. In other words the difference between the two deals rather with matters of household and oratory, woman and the priesthood than with those interests out of which the lives of men and activities, civic and national are built. This fact is immediately seen wherever either faith is sovereign. Many of the highest and most trusted officers of the Hindu ruler will be Mohammedans, and to take a special instance I may say that I have nowhere heard such loyalty expressed for the Nizam of Hyderabad as by the Hindu member of his Govt. In the region north of Benares again where Mohammedanism has been tranquil and undisturbed for hundreds of years, there is something very near to social fusion between the two. A significant indication of this lies in the names given to boys which are often — like Ram Baksh, for example — compounded of roots Sanskritic and Arabic.*"

**Are Indian Mussalmans
a different race or nation?**

The following facts compiled from the Census Report of India, 1901, will show how large a proportion of the Musselman population is composed of indigenous elements. In Bengal the local Mohammedans most of whom belong to the agricultural classes are in the main descendants of local converts from Hinduism. In Malabar, the only place in Southern India where the faith of Islam has many adherents, the majority of Mussulmans are said to be the descendants of local converts made by the Arabs who frequented the coast as far back as the beginning of the 8th century. In Gujarat the Bohras, Khojas and Memons all of whom are now Mohammedan, are of Hindu ancestry, and in Rajaputana the

Mohammedans are for the most part, "the descendants of Rajaputs who were converted in the time of the Delhi Emperors, of the remainder many are Meos, also of indigenous origin. Even in the North West India, a large portion of the present day Mohammedans have little or no foreign blood in their veins and of 14,141,122 Mohammedans in the Punjab only 1,114,243 were returned in the census of 1901 as Pathans, 491,789 as Baloch, 340,063 as Sheik, 315,032 as Saiad and 111,885 as Moghul that is to say only 16% of the total population are of foreign origin. The rest (i. e.) about 84% are mostly converts from indigenous races such as Jats who numbered nearly 2 million the Rajputs and Arains about 1 million and the Jolahs, Awans, Gujars, Muchis, Kumbhars, Tarkhans and Telis from one to two thirds of a million each. The vast majority of the present day followers of Islam are shown by their caste designation to be the descendants of local converts. (Census Report p. 384—386.)

The following extract from the Punjab Administration report 1854—55 and 1855—56 also throws light on the same subject. There are in the Punjab $7\frac{1}{2}$ millions of Mohammedans to $5\frac{1}{2}$ millions of Hindus. This numerical predominance of Mohammedans is remarkable and unusual in India. From the eastern boundary that is from the river Jumna to the Chenab, the Hindus preponderate, from thence to the trans-Indus frontier and in the Southern districts the population is almost entirely Mohammedan. But among these later, while many are of pure Mohammedan extraction, *yet many are of Hindu race converted to Mohammedanism under Moghul Emperors.*

Messrs. Garrat and Thompson the well known historians observe as follows :

"Communalism is an old Indian problem which time does little to solve. Only to a small extent is this enmity based on race or religion. It may be better regarded as the revolt of emancipa-

* Select Essays of Sister Nivedita p. 208-209 (Sister Nivedita landed in Calcutta in 1898 and made her home at Belur. She died in 1911.)

ted lower caste Indians against the social and financial domination of the higher castes. The Muslim invaders brought very few of their own countrymen into India and it is only in the extreme north of the peninsula that central Asian types are common. According to census reports hardly a sixth of the Mohammedans, even in the Punjab, are of a different race from the Hindus. The great bulk of Indian Muslims are descendants of converts; in nearly every case of converts from the lower caste Hindus. Many Hindu customs, and some times even the caste system, still survives amongst them, (see Census Report of 1921, Section 198). But their new religion gives them a self-respect and class consciousness which are denied to those who remained in the Hindu system. Recently the work of Dr. Ambedkar and others has had a similar effect upon the depressed classes amongst the Hindus.

Almost invariably there is some economic basis to Hindu and Muslim rivalry. In many parts the Hindus are the shop-keepers and money-lenders, the Muslims peasants. In cities the petty employers and shop-keepers may be Hindu and their labourers chiefly Muslim. Sometimes, as in Bombay, north country Muslims have been brought in as strike-breakers. Where such rivalry exists disturbances usually follow some religious provocation—the sacrificial killing of cows or the playing of music in front of mosques—but the underlying force is an economic grievance.*

Mr. Fredrick Pincott on the Hindu-Moslem Problem†

(In his weekly telegram to the TIMES, the Calcutta correspondent of that journal is endeavouring to show that the whole Mussulman population of India is opposed to the Congress, that all the followers of Mahomed are acting as one man against the Congress. This is the central point of opposition at the present moment to the Congress proposals. We, therefore, give

prominence to the following observations of an eminently qualified writer, (Mr. Frederick Pincott M. P.) in the May number of the (Conservative) National Review, replying to a misleading article by Mr. H. G. Keene, C. I. E. (-ED. INDIA. 1890)

The only real ground there is for the asserted want of basis for unanimity among the people of India, is the undoubted divergence in sentiment between the Hindus and Mussulmans.

But this divergence is much less than is generally supposed; and, in the parts of the country free from the judicious outside influences, has long since ceased to be as ordinary factions. In the principal towns, more especially in those which were centres of Mussulman power, the two religions are somewhat sharply divided—a division which is more exaggerated than allayed by official discrimination. But in more remote and country places, social difference has almost disappeared; that is to say both sections of the community join in all municipal, social, and festive matters without let or hindrance on the score of religion. It is true that they do not dance and dine in each other's house; but we should remember that "Life is not all beer and skittles." What we consider social intercourse is not the custom of Asia, whether among people of the same or of different religions. This remark answers a recent writer in MADRAS MAIL, who triumphantly descended on the fact that, after drill, the Sipahis of a regiment break up into their different religions for food and rest. It requires no "bond of discipline," as that writer thought, to hold them together on parade any more than is the case in an English Factory, where the men meet together, perform their duty, and then break up and return to their several homes. This natural and customary action implies no antagonism whatever. As far as the ordinary usages of citizenship go, Hindus and Mussulmans have long acted together in perfect harmony and that happy feeling will continue

* Rise and fulfilment of British rule in India — Edward Thompson and G. T. Garret. p. 623.

† England in India, 1890.

to become more and more apparent. Munshi Malikha Ram tells us plainly (India Magazine for August, 1889, p. 395.) that in the Punjab, "the country people lay no great stress on religious dogmas; they are, in fact, only nominally Hindus or Mohammedans." He admits that there is a certain amount of antagonism in the towns, but states that, "This bigotry is unknown in the country; there the people live together like brothers."

The experience of Mr. Kempson, at Bareli, so long as twenty years ago, is much to the point. Now, Bareli was an important Mussulman centre, and there we might expect feeling to run high, yet in Bareli, Mr. Kempson established a Boarding School for the children of both religions.

The result was most satisfactory; there was even keen competition among parents to pay the fees and maintain their boys at that school for the applicants were always in excess of the vacancies. More marvellous still, the boys lived together in the same houses, and joined in cricket and the other amusements, just as English boys at a public school. One such fact is more valuable than much speculation.

The distribution of the Mohammedan population is a matter of much importance although no one has hitherto called the least attention to it. It is customary to speak of the Mussulmans as one-fifth of the population; and the common impression is that every fifth man you may meet throughout the vast peninsula will be a member of that faith. This would be a most erroneous conclusion; for the census shows that the Believers in the Prophet are Clustered in Certain Well-Defined Areas.

Thus, in the southern half of the peninsula, the Hindus out-number them as eighteen to one; and the small number of Mohammedans there are aggregated in a few centres of former power. In Bombay and the North-West Provinces they are but one-sixth of the population; and they

are there, also, almost confined to town life. In Oudh they form but a tenth of the people; while in Bengal, notwithstanding all the ignorant slander about Babus and Bengalis, fully one-half of the people are Mohammedans. In the Punjab, however, the Mussulman population is in the ascendant; for there we find three Mohammedans for every two Hindus; and not only do they there out-number the Hindus, but they are found in all ranks and places, down to the remote corners of village life. It is evident from these unassailable facts that it is quite possible, where there a wish to do so, to constitute fair and workable constituencies, over the greater part of India.

In the preceding remarks I have, in conformity with usage, spoken of Mussulmans as members of one faith; but in fact, Mohammedans are divided, in India itself, into irreconcilable factions.

There is not only the well-known division into Sunnis and Shiahs, the members of which are as antagonistic to each other as they are to the Hindus; but their numerous racial differences are as acute as those arising from religious ideas. Any one familiar with India will know how accentuated are the differences between the Saiads, Shaikhs, Pathans, Moghals, Mohammedans, Rajputs, Jats, Gujars, Kashmiris, Meos, Diskhanis, Moplas Etc., These are well marked divisions of the Mohammedan population in India; and their differences are still further aggravated by the presence among many of them of the caste system of the Hindus giving rise to the Memons, Borahs, Khojahs, Julahs, Dhaniyas, Ghosis, Kunjers, Manihars, Kassais, etc. And even these special Indian sub-divisions of Mohammedan society are in addition to, the recognised seventy three sects into which the Mussulman Faith is Divided.

It would have been fair had Mr. Keene alluded to these differences among Mohammedans, when noticing the diversities among Hindus. In my opinion such matters have nothing whatever to do with the rights and obligations of citizens

as men ; but it is evident that Mr. Keene's statement that "the Bengalis are Hindus, so are the Rajputs and the Sikhs," require considerable modification. It is amusing also to note that the Shaikhs, although Mohammedans, are invited to, and perform certain functions at Hindu marriages, they being the converted representatives of a Hindu caste to whom these functions were appropriate. What vitiates the views of those who seek to exalt Mohammedans at the expense of Hindus, is the assertion that Mohammedans ruled the whole of India, and that the British conquered the country from them. Both statements are erroneous, for during the whole period of Mohammedan power, vast portions of India remained in the possession of independent Hindu rulers, against whom the force of Islam broke in vain. Furthermore, it is a remarkable fact that with the exception of Mysore the Mohammedan rulers offered but a feeble resistance to the advance of England's troops. All the really stubborn fighting was done by the Hindus:—in the conflicts with the Rajputs, the Maharattas, the Pindaris, and in the desperate struggle with the Sikhs for the possession of the Punjab, there is absolutely no historical evidence whatever to support the assertion that the Mohammedans of India are a manlier race than their Hindu fellow countrymen; all the evidence is distinctly the other way. Their administrative capacity is notoriously inferior to that of the Hindus; and their deficiency in that respect is as conspicuous in every country in which Mohammedanism prevails as it is in India. It is the result of the mental discipline to which Mohammedans are subjected to, and has nothing to do with climate or race.

Another fact also is persistently lost sight of, and that is, that

The Bulk of the Mohammedans of India are of the same flesh and blood as their Hindu Compatriots.

It is customary to speak of them as differing in race, language, and interests from their Hindu fellow-subjects. This error lurks in Mr. Keene's mind, while it is

rampant in the utterances of those who think it good policy to set peaceful citizens by the ears. The sober truth is that a few hundred years ago, under the pressure of Persian conquest, many millions of Indians were led to profess the Mohammedan faith. Their descendants, have remained in that profession, and, by the natural increases of population favoured by their more intimate alliance with the ruling class, these descendants of converted Hindus have expanded to their present proportion. But this change of faith has not changed their nationality, nor their language, nor their wants, nor their interest in the country, nor anything else that could debar them from uniting in the attainment of common political rights, common defence from aggression, and common facilities for commercial and intellectual progress. To infer, as Mr. Keene does, that the Mohammedan half of the people of Bengal would refuse to co-operate with the other half of securing a voice in the management of Indian affairs, is to imply that Mohammedans are mere fools.

Now the favourite theory of the opponents of the Congress is that the Mussulmans are the politically superior race; but would their superiority be shown in any such weak-minded abstention? Are they so silly as to suppose that they would not benefit by any remissions of taxation, or improvements in administration, which might be secured by united action? I will not insult my Mohammedan fellow-subjects with any such humiliating surmises. Those among them whom I have met are men of intelligence and discernment, and are quite as anxious to secure the happiness of their country as their Hindu brethren. I refuse to consider them aliens of India as emphatically as they themselves would repel the assertion. To assert the contrary is as derogatory to them as to maintain that the Protestants of England ceased to be Englishmen because they changed their faith at the time of the Reformation. The Mussulmans are as much Indians, in every sense of the word, as the Hindus, Sikhs, Jains, Parsis, Buddhists and Christians, they have the

same claims and interests, and no one has the right to separate them from the general body of their countrymen, and to subject them politically to exceptional treatment.

The supposed rivalry between Mussulmans and Hindus is *A Convenient Decoy to Distract Attention, and to defer the day of Reform.*

I do not wish to assert that there is no antagonism between the adherents of the two faiths; but I do most positively assert that the antagonism has been grossly exaggerated. Every municipal improvement and charitable work finds members of the two faiths working together, and subscribing funds to carry it out. Every political newspaper in the country finds supporters from believers in both creeds. Just as the same is witnessed in the proceedings of the Congress .. The members of the Congress meet together as men, on the common basis of nationality, being citizens of one country, subjects of one power, amenable to one code of laws, taxed by one authority, influenced for weal or woe by one system of administration,...urged by like impulse to secure like rights, and to be relieved of like burdens. If these are not sufficient causes to weld a people together into one common alliance of nationality, it is difficult to conceive what would be sufficient. It is for this reason that the organization has been called the "Indian National Congress"; not because, as many besides Mr. Keene have assumed, that it claims a non-existent unity of race, but because it deals with rights and interest which are national in character and matters in which all the inhabitants of the Indian peninsula are equally concerned.*

Under the Caption "The Civilisation of Northern India.—A contribution to the study of Hindu-Moslem relations",

Mr. Rabindra Narayan Ghosh, M. A., had contributed a series of five articles in Dawn and Dawn Society's Magazine of Calcutta in the year 1911.

The Editor of that Magazine in his prefactory note observed:—

In this series of articles the writer approaches the subject of Hindu Moslem relations in the present and in the past from the standpoint of Hindu-Moslem culture, literary, artistic, social and religious, as distinguished from the politico-economic view-point from which the question is ordinarily approached by most of our publicists. He seeks to establish what appears at first sight to be a very remarkable statement that much of Hindu culture as it obtains in Upper India is of Muhammedan origin and *vice versa*, that much of Muhammedan culture is of Hindu origin; and that, consequently, if the subject of Hindu-Moslem relations be approached from the standpoint of Indian culture it will be found, to quote the words of the writer himself that "the Hindus and Mahomedans of Northern India represent certain common traditions and common modes of expression which may properly be styled neither Hindu nor Muhammedan, but simply **North Indian**" The importance of a study at the present moment of the Hindu-Moslem problem from the standpoint of Actual facts in the life and civilisation of Northern India during the last five or six hundred years or more cannot be overrated; for the theory of Hindu-Muhammeden separation has been within very recent times gaining popularity. In this connection we beg to draw the reader's attention to a very similar view enunciated at Secunderabad in 1901 by the renowned Mahomedan scholar, Dr. Syed Ali Bilgramy †—whose recent death is a great public loss—at a meeting in honour of the late Mr. Ranade :

* India in England Vol II. G. P. Varma & Bros. Press Lucknow 1890.

† He is the author of a translation of Le Bon's Civilisation of the Arabs from French into Urdu—a book highly spoken of, and was also lecturer in Marathi at the Oxford University. The late Mr. Syed Ali Bilgrami was a great scholar and linguist, being remarkable for the ease and facility with which he acquired a knowledge of a large number of Oriental and European languages. He has devoted

"So much are we, Mussalmans of India, wedded to our country that we have been called and are being called to this day by all the Mussalmans of Turkey, Persia and other Muslim countries, by the generic name of 'Hindi', which I need scarcely tell you, though phonetically different, is morphologically the same as Hindu. But this is not all. Being Mussalmans of India, we are intellectually and socially superior to all the barbarian hordes of Central Asia to the inhabitants of Turkey and Persia, and to most of the races who characterise us as Hindus... Just as the Sassanian literature and Sassanian culture reacted on Islam in Persia and produced men like Jelaluddin Rumi and Omar Khayyam; so has the marvellous philosophy and culture of India reacted on Islam in this country and produced the Indian Mussalmans. The question of the influence of ancient civilisation on Islam in various countries, is of deep interest to the student of History. But I have neither time nor is this a fitting occasion to enter into it. My point is simply this: that we, Mussalmans of India, are the product of Islam, acting on and being reacted in turn, by the ancient civilisation of India."

■

In most of our present day discussions in the press and on the platform, of the problems of Indian nationality, the questions are approached almost exclusively from the political and economic stand-points, and seldom from the side of inner cultural development, religious, literary, social, and artistic. For instance, one of the most trying and consequently the most frequently discussed problems is that of Hindu-Muhammadan Unity. This problem has hitherto been sought to be solved by emphasising the common interests, political and economic, of both communities as children of one soil, and by pointing out how these interests can best be served by

the united efforts of Hindus and Muhammadians. Nay, it is supposed that political and economic interests furnish the only common grounds on which Hindus and Muhammadians can meet as brothers and comrades, and that beyond this, in the fields of inner culture, social, religious, literary and artistic, the interests of the two communities lie far apart, and that any emphasis on these more intimate concerns of Hindu-Muhammadan life will only serve to stir up differences and hostilities. Plausible as this prevalent view of Hindu-Muhammadan relations undoubtedly is, a closer view and analysis of the whole of modern Indian culture, especially of the culture of Northern India, will show that the present views of most Indian publicists on this question are mainly the result of either a misconception or an ignoring of the actual situation. For the notion that as regards art, religion, literature and social culture India is to be conceived of and treated as Hindu India plus Muhammadian India, the two being regarded as water-tight compartments sharply differentiated from, and exclusive of each other—this notion loses its speciousness as soon as we come to look closely into the actual facts of modern Indian and especially of North Indian life. It is only a proper realisation of the composite or rather synthetic character of the civilisation of Northern India, and a proper study also of the nature and sources of the broad features of Hindu and Islamic culture which go to make it up, that can give us an insight into the real nature of Hindu Moslem relations in India. Such a study will reveal the striking fact that much of Hindu culture as it obtains in Upper India is of Muhammadan origin, and much of Muhammadan culture is of Hindu origin;—nay, in many fields of social and artistic culture, such as music, painting, architecture, dress and social etiquette as also in the fields of literary and religious culture, in so far as these are traditional and unaffected by modern conditions of

many years to study of Sanskrit and was perhaps the only Mahomedan who had the rare distinction of being appointed on several occasions as an examiner in Sanskrit by the Madras University. Mr. Syed Ali Bilgrami who was a high official in the Hyderabad State was the younger brother of Mr. Syed Hasan Bilgrami who was one of the two Indians appointed for the first time to the India Council by Lord Morley.

life and thought, the Hindus and Muhammadians of Northern India represent certain common traditions, and common modes of expression, which present a unique synthesis of Hindu-Moslem culture—a synthesis which may properly be styled neither Hindu nor Muhammaden, but simply **North Indian**.

To begin with, we may take a typical, though simple case, which will serve to indicate how very closely the strands of Hindu and Moslem culture have been interwoven to make up the beautiful web of North Indian life. Every one knows that the Benares Sari is held all over Northern India, and especially in Bengal, as a treasured possession in all Hindu homes, and even regarded with a sort of sacred feeling being worn on all sacred and ceremonial occasions. All the associations that cluster round this Sari in silk & gold are peculiarly Hindu and there is not the slightest suggestion of incongruity in its use as a sacred robe on Hindu ceremonial occasions. Yet the designing and weaving of this most intimately Hindu commodity has for generations been mostly in the hands of the hereditary Muhammaden weavers of Benares, who form a close brotherhood, and who have been handing on the traditional methods and designs of the craft from generation to generation.* Here we have the apparently anomalous case of a commodity intended for the use of Hindus and to be used by them in some of the most intimate and sacred concerns of their life, designed and woven almost exclusively by a guild of Muhammadian weavers. This anomaly can only be explained by supposing, on the part of the Muhammaden craftsman, a sympathy with, and understanding of some at least of the intimate feelings and idiosyncrasies of his Hindu buyer. But the Benares Sari is only a typical case. In almost all the industrial arts that have for ages been acting as a beautifying and refining influence in the life of Upper India, such for instance as

carpet and shawl weaving, cotton-printing, embroidery, stone and wood-carving, bidri and enamel work, brass inlaying in wood and so on, the Hindu and Muhammadian craftsmen work side by side, and their work is regarded by members of both communities as quite in keeping with the general spirit and atmosphere of their traditional home and civic life. The Surahi, the Hukka bowl, the Chillam, the Pandan, the Attardan, the Shawl, the carpet, and in fact many of the articles in use in elegant society, are made in numerous varieties, by Hindu and Mussalman craftsmen for members of both communities. The art of ornamentation of copper and brass by means of lac is essentially Muhammaden, but it has been largely adopted by the Hindu workers of Jaipur, one result of this being that Muhammaden craftsman, in response to a popular Hindu demand, and following the lead of the Hindu workers of Jaipur, are taking to the production of Hindu (often mythological) designs. (vide Sir George Watt's Indian Art at Delhi, P. 20).† Again, the art of enamelling on gold is one of the premier arts of Jaipur, and is in the hands of Hindu craftsmen. But they have to obtain their colours in opaque, vitreous masses from Lahore, where they are prepared by Muhammaden Manikars or bracelet-makers (Ibid pp. 22-23). Take another case. The weaving of silk **Lungis** or **Pagris**, which is an important industry in certain towns in the Punjab, such as Peshawar, Kohat, Bhawalpur and Multan, is carried on both by Hindu and Mahammadan craftsmen, so that at the Delhi Exhibition of 1903 side by side with the goods made by Haji Malik Rahman and Gholam Hossain of Peshawar were exhibited those by Kishan Das and Tulsi Ram of Bhawalpur (Ibid., p. 301) Many such instances might be given but one of the most striking features of this blending of Hindu Muhammadian elements in the practice and patronage of the crafts has been thus strikingly described by Sir George Watt in his Indian Art at Delhi (P. 66) a book from which we have already quoted. "In travelling from

* Vide Prize Essays on trade guilds in India, by Dr. Coomaraswamy in The Modern Review, March 1911.

† The Sri Yantra used in Puja is cut in 'Sphatica' stone in Benares by Muhammaden Sculptors.

one end of India to the other in the study of crafts and industries, one circumstance is brought home to the observer more forcibly than almost any other, namely, that while a very large percentage of the skilled labour is Muhammadan, the industries are financed and controlled by Hindus. The division of labour is often carried to remarkable extents. For instance, the designers in the **Kinkhab** craft are exclusively Muhammadans, the weavers largely Hindus, while the owners of factories and the traders in **Kinkhab**s are almost exclusively Hindus. This state of affairs prevails all over India, and even in Rajputana the majority of the stone masons are Muhammadans. In another passage of the same book Sir George Watt refers in particular to this feature in the practice of the craft as noticed in the **Kinkhab** trade of Benares. "In Benares the writer was enabled, through the enthusiastic co-operation of the Collector, Mr. Radice, to visit all the leading **Kinkhab** weavers at their factories and to discuss with them the origin of the designs in use: It then transpired that there are usually three persons concerned with the **Kinkhab** trade - the designer who is invariably a Muhammadan; the weaver who may be either a Hindu or a Muhammadan; and the vendor or trader who is almost invariably a Hindu". (Ibid. p. 335).

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The process of mutual assimilation in forms and designs of the material surroundings and appanages of Hindu and Muhammadan life in Upper India is nowhere so markedly prominent as in the case of dress and architecture. The civic outdoor dress worn by the males, consisting of the **Jama**, and the **Pagri**, is the same for both communities. The common indoor costume, both of Hindus and Muhammadans in many parts of Northern India, especially in the villages, is the simple **Dhoti** and **Chadar**. Parts of the female attire again, the **Angia**, the embroidered scarf or veil, and the folded skirts of the **sari** or the **petticoat** as the case may be are common to the two communities in many parts of Upper India.

In Architecture also, especially in civic and secular architecture, the prevalent traditional style in Upper India - such as one notices in the palaces, Serais, street fronts and bathing ghats of the great cities of Rajputana, Central India, the Punjab and the United Provinces, is the result of a remarkable blending of Hindu and Muhammadan features. The bulbous domes, sometimes in a foliated form, the pointed arches, the octagonal kiosks and towers, as also some of the ornamental floral designs carved on walls and window-screens, that are so characteristic of Indian architecture, Hindu and Muhammadan, in Northern India, are probably all to be traced to a Muhammadan source. While the richly carved stone brackets and projecting balconies, the carved square pillars supporting horizontal architraves and flat ceilings, and in general the tendency towards elaborate carving and ornamentation of wall-spaces, - features which are very often to be observed in combination with the more or less Saracenic features noted above in one and the same structure, are strictly of Hindu origin. This intermingling of features of the two styles has been carried on for such length of time, and often with such taste and propriety that the result is in most cases free from the defects of a merely hybrid style, and it is really very difficult to-day to point out with any degree of precision the features and details which have been derived from either of the two streams of culture, Hindu or Islamic. In religious architecture, it is true the Hindu and the Muhammadan styles show marked differences, as may be expected from the divergence of the Quoranic ideals, with their strong aversion to plastic representations of religious subjects, and their insistence on the sharp differentiation of the secular from the sacred concerns of life, from the mythological conception of the Hindu Puranas and the Hindu ideal of the apotheosis of common life. The Moslem provides in his mosques blank wall spaces decorated, if at all, with floral designs, and the beautiful lettering of the Arabic Quoran, and vast dome roofed halls affording praying-room for vast congregations; while the Hindu covers his

temple walls from top to bottom with carvings which represent not only the stories and pageants of his gods and Avatars but also scenes from the common life of man and beast and plant woven as it were like an "embroidered veil" on the mystery of the infinite enshrined in the darkness of the cell. But here also in field of religious architecture forces of social contact operating through long centuries have made themselves felt. The semi-religious tombs of the Rajput princes in cities like Udaipur and Alwar, and the tomb of Ranjit Singh, the Sikh hero, at Lahore, are markedly Saracenic in form and yet in most cases preserve the essential characteristics of the Jain style. The Saracenic dome, and especially its foliated variety has been largely adopted by the Jaina community of Northern & Western India in their temples. The comparatively young community of the Sikhs, whose religion, however, has not up till now furnished much impulse towards architectural achievements on any large scale, have in their central Golden Temple at Amritsar drawn largely from the Indo-Saracenic architecture then in vogue. Nay, even in Bengal, scholars are tempted to see in the pointed arches and octagonal towers of the brick temples of the country, signs of the borrowing of Saracenic forms by Hindu architects as a result of the close and friendly intercourse of Hindus and Muhammadans during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. On the other hand, the presence of Hindu and Jaina features in the pillared cloisters and carving of the old Muhammadan mosques and tombs at Delhi, Ahmedabad, Ajmir, Gaur, Jaunpur Etc., is a remarkable feature of Indian architectural history. It is to be remembered that the early Muhammadan rulers, and to a large extent their successors, too, had to employ Hindu and Jaina architects on most of their religious buildings, and naturally these Indian architects contributed not a little towards the formation of what is known as the Indo-Saracenic style.*

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As in Architecture, so in the allied field of Painting, the close intermingling of Hindu and Mohammadan elements is a striking feature of the art as still practised by the few traditional artists of Northern India, Hindu or Muhammadan, who still survive the general decay that has overtaken the art during the last century owing to the lack of enlightened patronage and fresh inspiration. Here we notice the evolution of a common style and technique, as also a common storehouse of artistic Motifs and a common range of subjects. The subjects, taken either from Persian romance or from the traditional lore of India, or from contemporary Indian life, Hindu or Muhammadan are treated by painters of both communities, in spite of the Quoranic prohibition against the portraiture of human and animal life which has always kept a class of orthodox Mussalmans away from the practice and patronage of the art. So that, in spite of the fact that such centres of the art as Jaipur and the Kangra valley represent a more or less pure Hindu tradition, elsewhere in cities over which the influence of Mughal rule was exercised more directly, a synthetic Hindu-Musselman style was evolved, a style which owed as much to Hindu as to Muhammadan talent and initiative. Nay, in the practice of this synthetic art of miniature painting, Hindu and Musselman artists have never scrupled to accept as masters artists belonging to the opposite faith.

II

Take again the case of the far more living art of Music. Here the mingling of Hindu and Mahomeden has been even more intimate than in the case of architecture or painting. The classical Music of Northern India, both vocal and instrumental, is in the hands of a class of hereditary musicians, Hindu as well as Muhammadan who follow the same system and principles, and sing or play the same songs and tunes

*(Fergusson- Indian and Eastern Architecture, pp. 473, 466 ; Manomohan Chakravarti M. R. A. S., Bengali Temples and their Characteristics, in J. A. S. B., May, 1909, pp. 147-149 also Sir George Watt's Indian Art at Delhi, p. 66.)

and on the same instruments. The system is essentially based on the old Hindu system of Music, but modified to a large extent by the grafting on it of Persian elements, a process which was first systematically carried out by the celebrated Amir Khusrau, poet and musician, who flourished at Delhi at the court of the Khiliji and Tughlak monarchs. Even the names of some of the Rags and Raginis now in use, such for example as *Iman-Kalyan* bear evidence in this process, *Iman*, a Persian word, being the name of a Persian tune which was grafted on an old Hindu Rag which bore the Sanskrit name *Kalyan*. Both Hindu and Muhammadan musicians inherit a common tradition and honour the memory of the celebrated Tan Sen, himself a Hindu convert to Muhammadanism, to whom they attribute the fixing of the traditions of the art as now practised. Hindu musicians do not feel the slightest scruple to enlist themselves as disciples or *Sakreds* as they are called, of Muhammadan masters (*Ustad*) and *Vice Versa*, and the relations between master and disciple in these cases, in spite of the difference of religion and race, are always of an intimate and sacred character, and quite in keeping with the best Oriental and especially Indian ideals of discipleship. The same unifying tendencies are also to be seen in the matter of patronage. Hindu and Muhammadan princes and noblemen have never scrupled to employ at their courts or households musicians drawn from both the communities, and one can always witness in musical assemblies in Northern India, the unique spectacle of Hindu and Mussalman musicians seated together on the same carpet with their *Bins* (Sanskrit: *Vina*), *Sitars* and *Tamburabs* and pouring forth their divine music in indiscriminate succession to one another, and often to the accompaniment of a *Mridang* or *Tabla* played by a brother musician of the opposite faith. But the degree of intimacy attained by the two communities in this

field of music is best seen in the wording and subject-matter of the songs sung on these occasions. It is a well-marked characteristic of Indian Music, whether in the North or in South that it is essentially religious, and even where the theme turns of the passion of love, it is more often than not the love of Radha for Krishna which is a symbol of the human love for the divine. The songs of Northern India quite naturally turn mainly on this love of Radha for Krishna, or on selfless devotion to Rama or Siva, and even where the theme is of a more abstract or universal appeal to the religious sentiment, the imagery and wording is very often peculiarly Hindu. On the other hand, Muhammadan religious songs of a devotional character are not wanting; nay, some of them, owing to the influence of Sufi doctrines* are of as passionate a character as the Radha-Krishna songs of the Hindus. But no Hindu or Muhammadan singer feels the slightest scruple to sing the religious songs belonging to the other faith; nay, similarity of motive which characterises the Hindu and Sufi songs, and the catholic and tolerant character of the religious sentiments embodied in the songs of some of the greatest composers of Northern India, such as Tan Sen, and Kabir and Nanak, has effected a greater and more real community of feeling than could ever be effected by the mere adoption of a common technique.

The same fellowship in the practice of a common art, and the same community of feeling which characterises Hindu-Moslem relations in the classical music of Northern India is also observable in connection with the more popular Music of the Folk-songs and of the *Naubat* or *Raushan Chauki*. One of the most striking features of life in Hindustan is the important part which the folk-songs play in that

* Sufism represents a mystic development of Muhammadanism, of which the leading principle is that of earthly love as the imperfect type and symbol of love for the Divine. Most of the great poets of Persia and Muhammadan India were either Sufis themselves or deeply influenced by Sufi doctrine and so far their productions are akin in sentiment and imagery to the devotional Vaishanava poetry of India.

life. No domestic or religious ceremony, whether the occasion be a birth, a marriage or a Holi or Sab-i-barat, is complete without the singing of these folk songs by the women of the village or household as the case may be. All forms of joint labour, such as grinding of corn, removal of heavy loads, rowing a boat or beating the mortar on a newly built roof are accompanied by these songs which serve to mitigate hardship and tedium of the work in hand. Nay, the very changes of the seasons are occasions for musical festivities. The singing of what are known as Kajri songs during the rains in the month of Sravan by parties of men and women going out on the meadows and orchards on the outskirts of the village is an instance in point. (For an account of these Kajri songs, see Crooke, "Religious songs of Northern India," Indian Antiquary, pp. 325-327, December 1910.)

Now, it is a remarkable feature of North-Indian life that here also in the matter of the folk-songs, ceremonial, or non-ceremonial the Hindus and the Muhammadans to a certain extent share a common tradition and draw upon a common store-house of songs. At the birth of a Mussalman child, in many parts of Bihar and Upper India, the songs sung are not those of Mussalman conception, but such in which allusions to Sri Krishna, the Hindu God, are frequent. Here are two of these songs which are sung all over the country in Mussalman house-holds.

Albeli Jacha man kare NandLall se.
Sohagan jacha man kara Nand Lall se.

Albeli ne mujhe dard diya
Sanwalyane mujhe dard diya.

The gist of the songs is as follows:—

The mother desired Nand Lal for an offspring; the happy mother desired Nand Lal (for an offspring)

(My child) has caused me to ail, Dark-blue one has caused me to ail

In these songs 'Nand Lall' and Sanwalya as pointed out by a Muhammadan

writer, are none but Shri Krishna. (Vide an article by Mr. Mazharul Haque Bar-at Law in Modern Behar 1910, p. 8)

The Hindi wedding songs sung on nuptial occasions by Mussalman ladies in many parts of Bihar and Upper India, are also Hindu, as has been so well pointed out by Maulavi Syed Ahmed, the author of "Rasum-i-Delhi" i.e. The (Mussalman, customs of Delhi, who remarks "From the words, ideas and language of these songs we get proofs of Hindu customs and beliefs." And how very intimately these Hindu songs have wound themselves round the heartstrings of all Mussalmans that have been brought up in the atmosphere created by these simple but heart-touching — lyrics will appear from the following characteristic observation of a cultured and distinguished Muhammadan gentleman:—"It is earnestly to be desired that these lovely songs will not be banished from Muslim homes, for they are at once the delight of the young and old, and Indian life could be dry and monotonous indeed without them."

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A characteristic feature of some of the popular folk-songs of Northern India, and especially of the Punjab and Sindh, is the way in which Hindu and Muhammadan legends and traditions are impartially drawn upon in the course of the same song. One such typical Punjabi song entitled "The Troubles of Love" was published with an English translation in the Indian Antiquary for June, 1909 by Mr. H. A. Rose. By way of introducing this song, Sir Richard Temple, the learned Editor of the journal, himself the foremost authority on Punjabi folk-literature and author of a monumental book on the Legends of the Punjab, remarks:—

This typical production of the Panjabi bard is interesting in many ways, but chiefly because it contains reference to nearly all the love-tales that are familiar in every household in the Punjab. The list is delightfully eclectic as usual. Thus we have allusions to the Hindoo Mediaeval

folk tales of Puran Bhagat and Namdev and to the Hindu classical stories of Hiranya Kasipu, Prahlada and Harischandra, and are favoured with a brief outline of the legend of Sita and Ram as it has descended to the modern Punjab. Then we have the Muhammadan classical tales of Yusuf and Zulaikha and of Laili and Majnun and the more modern Shirin and Farhad. Next we have the essentially Punjabi modern but nevertheless classical, tales of Mirza and Shahiban and of Hir and Ranjha and of the great story of the Southern Indus Region, Sassi and Punnun. And lastly there is an Illusion to the characteristic Punjabi saintly tale of Rode Shah. All these legends are given in full in Sir Richard Temple's legends of the Punjab. Such of them as are popular in Sindh also have been summarised in Burton's Sindh. A substance of the tale of Sassui and Punhu was given in the course of an article on "Sindhi Musalmans: their Holy men and Bards," appearing in the March, 1906, number of the journal. Note has to be taken of the fact that the tales here referred to as "essentially Punjabi modern but nevertheless classical," are Muhammadan love stories bearing a Sufi or religio-mystic interpretation. Some idea of the popularity of these songs both among Hindus and Mussalmans will be gained from the following remarks on the tale of Sassui and Punhu, the most popular of them all from Burton's Sindh:— "It is known throughout the country between Mekran and Afghanistan, Jesulmere and Eastern Persia, and exists in the Sindhi, Persian, Jatki and Belochi languages. The Hindus possess the story in the Punjabee and other dialects and generally write it in Gurumukhi characters... Very few of the wild tribes of Sindh and Beluchistan are ignorant of this legend. The camel-man on his journey, the hardsman tending his cattle, the peasant toiling at his solitary labours, all while away the time by chanting in rude and homely verse the romantic adventures of Sassui and Punhu."

Not the least remarkable feature of this story is that Sassui, the heroine of the story, is the daughter of a Brahmin of

Thatta, while the hero Punhu Khan is a young Beloch chief of mekran, and in keeping with the Sufi Significance of the legend the pair are now considered as saints or holy characters, their resting place in the Pubbani Pass being still visited by many pilgrims. Thus it is clear that here in the matter of the folk-songs also as in the field of classical music, the union of Hindu and Muhammadan elements is a marked characteristic of North Indian life.

*

The subject of music and musical compositions leads naturally to that of language and literary culture. Here it is seen that the Muhammadans almost everywhere speak the language of the province where they have settled; for example, Bengali in Bengal, different forms of Hindi and Hindustani in different parts of Hindustan proper, Punjabi in the Punjab and Sindhi in Sind. But in many parts of Upper India, the language of polite speech and intercourse and of literary composition in prose and verse, both among Hindus and Muhammadans, is Urdu, a language whose grammatical structure is that of Hindusthan, but whose vocabulary is largely drawn from Persian. The literature embodied in the Urdu tongue has been built up by the joint labours of Hindu and Muhammadan writers and two of the most eminent writers in that tongue, the poet Daya Shunker Nasim, author of "the exquisite Masnavi of Bakaoli" and the prose-writer Pandit Ratan Nath (Sarshar) are Hindus. Thus this pretty language is as much indebted to the Hindus as to the Musalmans for its popularity and perfection. On the other hand the purely indigenous vernaculars themselves have not only incorporated a large number of Persian words, but have also been embellished by the writings of some of the greatest Muhammadan writers. The earliest writer in the Awadhi dialect of Hindi in which Tulsi Das later on composed his celebrated Ramayana, was a Muhammadan named Malik Muhammad (fl. 1540 A. D.) the author of the fine philosophical epic called the *Padumawat*.

(To be Continued)

News and Notes

UNTOUCHABILITY AMONG HARIJANS

Speaking at the first South Kanara District Harijan conference, at Udupi, the President Mr. K. J. Ballal, President of the Local Bar Association, stated that the real impediment to the uplift of the Harijans, was not so much by *external* as *internal*. There would seem to be as many as 33 sub-sects among the Harijans of the district with as many differences, if not more than there are between the four main castes of Hindus. "There is no interdining, no intermarriage, and what is worst, each higher sub-sect looks down upon the lower in order as *untouchable*." Presumably if a higher sub-sect has a place of worship of its own, a sub-sect which is considered to be lower in order has by custom no entry in the higher sub-sect's temple. Harijan uplift workers, and Congress Ministers have here a real scope for solid work. Conditions such as those found to exist among the Harijans in South Kanara evidently prevail in other places also.

TEMPLE-ENTRY FOR HARIJANS

Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar said that he was first under the impression that the Madura Temple Entry had been effected at least with the consent of the majority of the temple going people, but that he had subsequently learnt that it was done "*Secretly and without previous consultations*". Such an admission by the Ex-president of the Congress is a serious reflection on the Congress Ministry in Madras who used the strength of their power to bring about a change in the traditional mode of worship abhorrent to the majority of caste Hindus. The Reformers and their friends, the Congress ministry have gained little by driving away people who had faith in temples.

(*"Dharma Rajya"* 1st Feb. 1940)

HINDU MILITIA AND RAMA DANDU

Dr. Moonji, the veteran Hindu leader, in a recent speech asking for a Hindu Militia, thus explained :—

"The function of the British Government in India is two-fold. Firstly, to defend Hindusthan from all foreign aggression; and secondly to help the Imperial Government. Out of these two, our Moslem leader, Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan, has promised to raise a million Muslim soldiers to protect the British Empire; and therefore, now is it not our duty to attend to the other part of the job, Viz. to raise a million Hindu Militia for defending Hindusthan?"

It was suggested that, when this Hindu Militia is raised, Dr. Moonji himself should be elected to its high command. But will not the Andhras also raise their own quota of a lakh of Rama Dandus as part of the National Defence?

G. V. SUBBA RAO.

ALL INDIA SANATANIST LEADERS' CONFERENCE

To be Held at Nagpur on March 27 and 28

The All-India Sanatanist Leaders' Conference will be held at Nagpur on 27th and 28th of March 1940. The Conference of the All-India Varnashrama Swarajya Sangh will be held in the same Pandal on 29th and 30th March.

In the course of a statement to the Press, the Secretary of the All-India Varnashrama Swarajya Sangha says:

The All-India Sanatanist Leaders' Conference will be held on the 27th and 28th March 1940 at Nagpur to discuss the present political situation in India and decide upon the action to be taken by them at this critical time to maintain their Dharma, culture and social fabric. There are many Sanatana Dharma Sabhas in British India as well as in Native States. These Sabhas have not yet joined the All-India Varnashrama Swarajya Sangha probably because they want to remain independent from the Sangha as the Sangha is a Religio-Political body or because they do not want to subordinate

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Editorial Notes

The Deadlock

We are all now painfully aware of the differences existing between the three parties the Congress, the Muslim League and the British Government. The differences between the Congress and the British Government have largely been narrowed down by the Viceroy's admission that Dominion status of the Westminister type is the immediate goal to be attained by India. The British Government is willing to bestow it upon us and the Congress, we believe, will accept. But there is the stumbling block, the attitude of Mr. Jinnah. No doubt he is, as we and his staunch supporters say, a good nationalist, as good as any Congressman, but he is a Muslim first and an Indian next. He wants a Muslim India to be carved out first and foremost.

How are the Hindus to answer this problem? Should we follow Mr. Jinnah and say that we are Hindus first and nationalists next? We feel that independence achieved at the cost of our religion, our culture and our heritage is not worth the trouble. We shouldn't barter away the soul of India for a pittance. We may remind Mr. Jinnah that the India that is known throughout the world is the Hindu India with its wonderful heritage, culture, and literature. The Muslim rulers of the past abundantly recognised this fact and never tried to divide India into Moslem and Hindu Indias. The north of India is, as a rule very sacred to the Hindus. Should we surrender our most sacred Himalayas and the Ganges to Muslim domination? These are all pertinent questions and arise in the wake of Mr. Jinnah's pronouncements.

But the fact remains that we have all along lived as brothers with the Muslims and there is no reason why we should not continue to live like that, respecting each other's religion, culture and conscience.

We believe that the 'carte blanche' offered by the Mahatma to the Muslim leaguers is encouraging them to demand much more than what is just in the circumstances.

There are many Mussalmans in the country who are ready to co-operate with the Hindus in an amicable settlement. We may observe, in passing that it is the educated Muslim that cries hoarse over these demands. The rural folk both Hindu and Muslim known to live amicably until roused to a frenzy by the cultivated oratory of the educated. Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar's advice that the working committees of the Congress and Muslim League should meet and come to an understanding is but just an illustration of the policy that it is better to jump into the dark than to stand-still.

We believe that it is not possible under the present leadership, the League has, to come to terms among ourselves. The Viceroy should take upon himself the burden of trying to bring these two bodies into an agreement. If the League doesn't agree to reasonable proposals the Viceroy should not on that account hold up the constitutional progress of India. He should not allow one party to hold up what is good for India as a whole. The British should declare India a dominion immediately and leave the rest to the Indians. By experience we know that when we are faced with a situation we have got to solve, we somehow get over it. Nobody need fear a blood-shed. We (both Hindus & Muslims) have still enough commonsense to solve the problem when we are faced with it.

This brings us to another tough problem. Are we to have a representative council or a constituent Assembly to settle India's constitution. A representative Council, selected by the British Government dances to its tune. The Constitution

framed by such a body will not be for our betterment. We believe firmly that if the British Government are sincere in their desire to grant Dominion Status to India there is no point in saying that the constitution should not be drafted by the people's delegates. By demanding a representative council the British Government are doing an immense harm to the cause they profess to advocate.

Tax on Excess Profits

The Government of India have introduced an excess profits tax in the Central Assembly. The finance member was at great pains justifying the tax both on moral and "Immoral" grounds. We feel that the tax is uncalled for in the present circumstances. Many Indian industries have received a great fillip due to the absence of imported articles from abroad.

(Continued from page 49)

themselves to any other institution. It is therefore intended to hold an independent All-India Sanatanist Leaders' Conference to enable them to take part in the deliberations. I therefore request all Sanatanist workers to kindly send to this office the names of Sanatani Sabhas and their office bearers with their addresses and also of prominent Pandits and persons, so that, invitation may be sent to them for the above conference.

Sreeman D. S. Tatachariar writing about Sanatana Dharma Propaganda in the "Dharmarajya" observes as follows :—

Our attempts i. e. the attempts of all those that are interested in the uplift of Sanatana Dharma in the land must be to cultivate Bhakthi in the people on God, and then through our puranas to inculcate the anushtanam of Varnashram Dharma. Our western education neglected our puranas and our elders in the household slowly glided out of the ancient groove and as a result we have now the present catastrophe. We forget our Gods; we forget our temples; we forget our Varnashrama Dharma and our achara

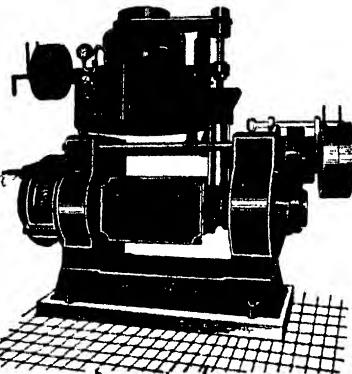
If the Government were not to impose this tax these nascent Indian industries will find themselves shaky and unable to compete with foreign imports at the end of the war. By this measure a great blow is thus being given to our Indian industries. There is nothing fundamentally wrong with the principle of the bill. But we say that the time is not opportune. It is no argument to say that the tax is levied in England. England is in the very throes of the war. But we are far away from the scene of the war and in no need to do whatever England does. We may also remind ourselves that this measure was not resorted to during the last war. We write this not in sympathy with the big sahukars but in sympathy with the Indian industries. Let not the Government throttle them in their infancy. The measure will be welcome once the industries are well established, and able to compete with any foreign importer.

anushtanams. Our environments are getting bad. The gentleman who calls himself the modern mahatma of India teaches our youth or rather gives a mandate to our youths to the effect, inter alia that on the Harijan day appointed by him all the youths of the land should take the Harijan children into their respective kitchens and give them refreshments. If the parents should oppose this the Mahatma dictates that the youths must be prepared to leave the parent's house. What a fine moral teaching? Our Dharma sastras and our ancient saints say in Tamil 'The words of the elders are nectar to us & our parents are but first God'. What a contrast in teaching. How can we expect our children to follow the varnashram Dharma when they are taught like this to worship as Gods by the present day neighbours? They have only this teaching by the mahatma and they do not know their puranas. How can we expect our children to improve in religion?

I would therefore suggest that in every village as of yore, we must arrange for street reading of Bhagavathams, Ramayanams, and if we want to improve our Varnashrama instinct in our youths. How to effect this?

Diamond Oil Expeller

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N.S. ROUND KETTLE models of the Diamond Oil Expellers represent an entirely new departure in expeller design and construction. The split worm shaft is provided on its whole length with new designed pressing worms of varying pitch decreasing uniformly towards the cone side and horizontal thrust exerted by it is made to be taken up by a very strong thrust ball bearing mounted on the extreme end. A vertical crammer is provided by means of which the material is preliminarily pressed before entering into the cage. These two improvements chiefly account for its larger output. This expeller is more suitable for preliminary pressing and can also be used for final pressing with good result.

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